**Cricket** Texaco Trophy Third one-day International: England v Australia

# Big Ben chimes for England

**Mike Selvey at Lord's**

FOR one glorious, sunlit hour on Sunday, when the runs were flowing like the lunchtime Pimms and a young man was making a name for himself, it was almost necessary to pinch oneself to make sure it was not just a dream. Ben Hollioake, a lad whose county career has barely begun, became a man on the grandest stage against the toughest opposition.

Batting at number three, with a licence to thrill, he cocked a snook at reputations, clumping his second delivery straight back past the bemused Glenn McGrath — one of the world's premier pace bowlers — to rattle the pavilion rails. In the next 46 balls he hit 10 more boundaries and a massive six over square leg off Shane Warne — one of the finest spinners to draw breath — before clipping a catch to backward point when he was 63.

As he walked off, the crowd stopped short of flinging hats in the air, but they clapped, football style, above their heads, and some even cheered. Hollioake, a tall fellow, raised his bat tentatively but stared at the ground through the grille of his new England helmet.

Had he been anyone else but a Hollioake, it might have been mistaken for embarrassment. Diffidence, however, does not feature in the family's vocabulary. For two matches it had been Adam easing himself into a key role in the England side as if sliding on to a stool next to a woman in a Battersea wine bar; it brought him England's man-of-the-series award.

But Adam has been around a bit — captain of the A side, skipper of Surrey. Ben is barely 19, and 19-year-old Englishmen do not bat first wicket down in internationals against Australia and certainly do not cane the bowling as if it were a benefit match.

If he had nerves, they did not show. McGrath was driven to distraction at times, once from down the wicket, and responded with a head-jerking bouncer; Warne was driven, too, and paddled delicately. Michael Kasprowicz, the best of the Australian bowlers, had his moral successes as Hollioake joyously surfed a wave of good fortune, but the edges flew clear of Ian Healy's despairing dives.

Hollioake's innings shone brilliantly on a day resplendent with fine individual performances and resulted, neatly, in England's third successive six-wicket win. The Australian innings was dominated by a sublime 95 from Mark Waugh — 96 deliveries met with such elegance he could have been batting on a catwalk. Darren Gough set Australia back at the start and he took Waugh's wicket when the twin was threatening to push the total beyond England's reach. Gough took five for 44 for the second time in his career and, on a day of toil for bowlers, it won him the man-of-the-match award.

Australia had made changes, with Mark Taylor deciding there was no further value in limited-overs cricket in his quest to find form, and Michael Slater joining him. The replacements, Matthew Elliott and Justin Langer, failed to take the chance as England won the toss once more, fielded ferociously again and caught like demons. Australia's score — 269 — was their highest of the series — they made 170 for eight in the first match at Headingley and 249 for 6 in the second at The Oval — but, as in the previous two games, it was below par for the conditions.

The younger Hollioake provided the catalyst for the England reply after Mike Atherton had survived a vehement appeal for a catch at the wicket, only to be lbw to Kasprowicz two balls later. Alec Stewart, on 18 when Hollioake arrived, was left standing in the space of 23 balls and, from roughly the same number of deliveries, made 19 out of 92 in 14 overs.

Hollioake's departure took the edge off the atmosphere but there was good batting to come as Stewart and John Crawley, who replaced Nick Knight in the side, added 80 for the third wicket, also in 14 overs. Stewart clipped Mark Waugh, in his first over of offspin, to Langer on the deep midwicket boundary. It had been sensible rather than vibrant batting from Stewart, with 79 spread over 34 overs.

It was to England's advantage, however, that they always had one batsman set at the fall of a wicket and, with Crawley going well, Graham Thorpe was able to establish himself. The pair might have seen the side home but a running mishap saw Crawley run out for 52, and it was left to Thorpe (45) and Hollioake senior to see things through. Hollioake pushed the winning run, as he had in the other games. "Oh, well," said Ben afterwards. "Big brothers always have the last word."



Sunday best . . . Ben Hollioake steers Shane Warne for four at Lord's PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JENKINS

**Motor Racing**

# Villeneuve plan works like a dream

**Alan Henry in Barcelona**

JACQUES Villeneuve regained the world championship points lead with a mature and measured drive to victory in the Spanish Grand Prix here, a tactically complex race in which he was helped when Michael Schumacher catapulted his Ferrari through into second place at the first corner after making a brilliant start from seventh on the grid.

Schumacher arrived knowing that there was precious little chance of repeating his Monaco victory. Instead he opted for a damage-limitation exercise by running on brand new tyres and a light fuel load from the start in order to make up as many places as possible. But after his initial spurt Schumacher began to drop away as his tyres wore badly. This had the effect of bottling up the field and allowing Villeneuve to get well clear.

"I knew from testing that Michael would have trouble with his tyres and would have to do three stops," said Villeneuve. "We opted for a two-stop strategy which I knew would be risky on my own tyres, but on a three-stop strategy you have to drive like a maniac to keep the lead."

By the time Schumacher made his first stop for fuel and tyres at the end of lap 14 Villeneuve was already 16sec ahead and the battle, as such, was effectively at an end. With tyre-wear problems also handicapping David Coulthard's McLaren, Olivier Panis steadily worked his way through the field to finish second in the Bridgestone-shod Prost Mugen Honda. It was the best result for the Japanese tyre company in their first Formula One season and Panis's best finish of the year.

But Panis almost lost his second place when he came up to lap Eddie Irvine's Ferrari in the closing stages, allowing Jean Alesi's Benetton and Schumacher to pull on to his tail. There was no suggestion that Irvine was responding to any team orders in an effort to help his team-mate but he was given a 10sec stop-go penalty for blocking.

Alesi eventually beat Schumacher across the line by 5.4sec to take third place, and Johnny Herbert's Sauber nipped ahead of Coulthard on the last lap to take fifth place.

For Villeneuve it was a truly outstanding tactical performance in which he conserved his tyres on a high-grip track surface which is unusually abrasive. In 1981 his late father Gilles scored a spectacular Spanish Grand Prix victory at Madrid's Jarama track, where his uncompetitive Ferrari won by less than a second.

On this occasion the son enjoyed the benefit of a much better car but Jacques, it must be said, certainly applied just as much brain power.

## Cryptic crossword by Crispa

**Across**

1 Firm base? (6)
4 In brief a brick residence — that's material (6)
9 Through being without one obtains support (4)
10 Train for the hand-over (10)
11 Frank's address (6)
12 Saw deciders would have to be arranged (8)
13 In a series of exercises the head displays incompetence (9)
15 Pine for a girl (4)
16 Happily healthy (4)
17 One court document in about ten gets redrafted (9)
21 The utterance of a friend (8)
22 A person dealing with plants has to work unhurriedly (6)
24 Fish cut into narrow pieces for youngsters (10)
25 Border where a saving's effected (4)
26 This brown woman is making a comeback (6)
27 Claim a point after legal misrepresentation (6)

**Down**

1 Allowing nothing to restrict the view (7)
2 Drive about in the van (5)
3 With top players to beat, take turns on it (7)
5 A twit apparently without a care in the world (2,4)
6 Check coaches among others (9)
7 Iced drinks provided for the fans? (7)
8 Lofty conclusion following study of French science (13)
14 Country that's the least colourful in the Orient (9)
16 This war badly affected the spirits (7)
18 Placing NCOs in unimagined situation (7)
19 Put an end to running water — and sharp! (7)
20 Stuff father left inside (6)
23 Sign for crate, though damaged (5)

**Last week's solution**

STOPWATCH##JEEP
I#V#I#A#I#U#Q#O
DRAWN#BILINGUAL
E#R#D#L#L#D#A#I
KEYHOLE#TRELLIS
I###W#A#O#R#I#H
CROSSPURPOSES##
K#N#H#####U#E#O
##SHOULDERSTRAP
A#L#P#O#X#P###E
FLAPPER#TRISTAN
F#U#I#R#R#C#I#B
ORGANZINE#INTRO
R#H#G#E#M#O#L#O
DOTH##STEINBECK



The Guardian Weekly

Vol 156, No 23
Week ending June 8, 1997

The Washington Post · Le Monde

# Now France takes dramatic left turn

**Paul Webster and Jonathan Steele in Paris**

FRENCH Socialists won a crushing victory in the parliamentary elections last Sunday, opening the way for a unique European alliance with Tony Blair's New Labour.

With the French left holding an absolute majority of 320 of the 577 seats in the new five-year national assembly according to early estimates, this is the first time since the Fifth Republic was founded in 1958 that left-of-centre governments will coincide in Paris and London.

The cross-Channel alliance, which reinforces social democratic domination of the European Union, could mark the end of the traditional Paris-Bonn axis that has shaped European construction. Lionel Jospin, the Socialist first secretary and new prime minister, was due to meet Mr Blair and other left-of-centre leaders in Sweden on Thursday.

The Socialist triumph will have an immediate impact on Europe's most critical political question: the future of monetary union, which Mr Jospin has promised to review. His party's commitments on unemployment, shorter working weeks and no wage cuts are incompatible with the Maastricht conditions. Mr Jospin will face conflict first with President Jacques Chirac and then with EU officials on these issues, though he shows no sign of being deterred by that.

"It's a demand for real change . . . a demand for an economic and social policy at the service of man," Mr Jospin said after his win. He had been out of parliament since losing his seat near Toulouse in the 1993 rightwing landslide.

The victory — a month to the day after the Labour landslide in Britain — was a personal triumph for Mr Jospin and unexpected revenge for his defeat by Mr Chirac in the 1995 presidential poll.



Victory is mine . . . Lionel Jospin shows his feelings after the left's triumph PHOTOGRAPH: BOB EDEEME

In the garden of the House of Latin America, where the Socialists celebrated their victory, Albert Ginioux, a printer in his 30s, said the main thing now was to give work to young people. "We must enter Europe, but it must be a human and social Europe. It mustn't be the Bundesbank which decides."

Ambroise Perrin, a Socialist official, said: "It's an absolute rejection of the right, with their policy of cheating, saying one thing and doing another."

The Socialists won back about 200 of the constituencies they lost in the 1993 landslide, and the leftwing triumph was also confirmed by victories for 38 Communists and seven Greens — the first environmental candidates to enter parliament. The leader of Les Verts, Dominique Voynet, is expected to become environment minister.

The result also promises to see the biggest number of women in parliament since they were given the vote. There were just 33 women in the former National Assembly — the lowest proportion in the European Union — but there will now be more than 100.

With the right both humiliated and divided, the return of the left will have a devastating effect on internal policy — with a halt to privatisations, a rise in the minimum wage and talks to introduce a 35-hour week. An emergency programme to create 700,000 jobs for young people will be put into action, but the right's austerity budget will be shelved.

Mr Chirac had hoped to take the opposition off guard, but it was his own Gaullist-RPR movement which was caught unprepared. After the first round, he had to sack his prime minister, Alain Juppé, while his ploy in calling in a more acceptable substitute, Philippe Séguin, the National Assembly speaker, also flopped.

**Kohl feels heat, page 3**
**Comment, page 12**

# Oklahoma bomber found guilty

**Alex Duval Smith and Martin Walker in Washington**

TIMOTHY McVEIGH, the Gulf war veteran found guilty on Monday on all counts in the worst act of terrorism in American history, returned to court this week to hear deliberations on whether he will be sentenced to death for the 1995 bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building.

McVeigh, aged 29, who sat impassively in the Denver, Colorado, court as Judge Richard Matsch read the verdict, was found guilty on all 11 conspiracy and specimen murder charges in the bombing on April 19, 1995, in which 168 people died in the Alfred P Murrah federal building.

Survivors and relatives of the bomb victims were unanimous in their lack of surprise and relief at the verdict, which came after four days of deliberations and a trial that lasted 25 days.

Dan McKinney, a victim's relative who watched the denouement of the trial live on a television screen in Oklahoma City, said: "Without any qualms at all, this man should face the death penalty. We lost 168 people in this bomb and no one should have to live through what we have lived through."

President Bill Clinton issued a statement in which he praised both legal teams but declined to comment on the verdict. "This is a very important and long overdue day for the survivors and families of those who died in Oklahoma City," he said.

Even though McVeigh already faces the death penalty under federal law after the verdict, he will be tried again under Oklahoma state law at the end of the summer, along with his co-defendant, Terry Nichols, aged 42.

# Chrétien clings on to power in Canada

**Anne McIlroy in Shawinigan, Quebec**

THE Canadian prime minister, Jean Chrétien, and his Liberal party salvaged a majority government in this week's national election, but face a House of Commons deeply divided along regional lines.

The Liberals' slim majority of 155 seats out of a total of 301 is based on heavy support in Ontario, the most populous province, where they repeated their 1993 election performance and won almost every seat.

Atlantic Canada, a Liberal fortress in 1993, booted out many Liberal MPs, including two senior cabinet ministers. In expressing their anger at the Liberals' deficit-cutting measures, eastern voters embraced the Conservatives and the New Democratic party (NDP). The leftwing NDP were the biggest surprise of the Canadian election, stunning pollsters and pundits by winning 21 seats, one more than the Conservatives.

In western Canada, the Reform party dominated, winning 60 seats to become the official opposition. Reformers did not realise their dream of becoming a national party, but they killed the Liberal party's dream of strengthening their support in a region where many people feel excluded from the national corridors of power.

In Quebec, the separatist Bloc Québécois took 44 seats out of 75, but slipped substantially in popular support. The Liberals made the gains they were looking for in predominantly francophone regions and were quick to trumpet their feat as a breakthrough.

However, it was a nerve-racking evening for the Liberals with little to celebrate until their majority was declared early on Tuesday morning.

Mr Chrétien avoided the worst-case scenario for his own political future when he salvaged a majority government and won his own seat in Saint-Maurice. But he could still face tough questions within his own party about the policies that angered voters and a campaign that nearly cost the Liberals in election.

The slim margin of victory will be troubling to the Liberals, who watched the prime minister gamble on an early election and almost lose. But it was a proud Mr Chrétien who spoke to cheering supporters in his headquarters when he arrived to celebrate victory.

He stressed that this was the first time in almost half a century that voters had elected back-to-back Liberal majorities. He pledged to govern for the "whole country" in the interests of all regions.

He also singled out the Conservative leader Jean Charest, who he said helped the federalists win "a strong majority" of votes in Quebec. Although Mr Chrétien had attacked Mr Charest during the campaign, he reached out to his fellow federalist from Quebec, using Mr Charest's success to highlight the sovereigntists' loss of ground in Quebec.

Mr Chrétien had no compliments for the Reform party leader, Preston Manning, whom he came close to calling a racist over a campaign television ad that suggested Quebec politicians should no longer be elected as prime minister.

The Liberals bled support from the moment when Mr Chrétien called an early election only three-and-a-half years into his mandate.

Mr Chrétien sold himself as moderate leader who would stay the course, the experienced caretaker who could overcome the regional divisions highlighted in final weeks of the campaign and who could be counted on to balance the books and protect social programmes.



| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Austria | AS30 | Malta | 60c |
| Belgium | BF75 | Netherlands | G 4.75 |
| Denmark | DK16 | Norway | NK 16 |
| Finland | FM 10 | Portugal | E300 |
| France | FF 13 | Saudi Arabia | SR 6.50 |
| Germany | DM 4 | Spain | P 300 |
| Greece | DR 460 | Sweden | SK 19 |
| Italy | L 3,000 | Switzerland | SF 3.30 |

# Child labour in Asia needs adult solutions

*YOUR* report on child labour in India (Sweatshop labour tarnishes football, May 18) misses the key point: that children stitch footballs because they are poor. Manufacturers should improve pay and working conditions, but the unfortunate fact is that many children need to work, and this will only change if the structural causes of poverty are addressed.

Save the Children's recent research on the football industry in Sialkot, Pakistan showed that 81 per cent of children stitch balls to meet basic needs, such as food, clothing and education. In many cases children do not attend school because their families could not survive without the extra income they earn.

A consumer boycott would drive children into more exploitative forms of work and could have serious effects on family incomes. The Sialkot programme offers alternatives to ensure that family incomes, and therefore children, do not suffer. The involvement of sports communities, international organisations, non-governmental organisations and the government offers hope of success. But it is the backing of sports companies that will be needed to control exploitation.

Public outrage must watch for exploitative practices, but if children's rights are to be most effectively protected, it is best directed at the root causes of poverty that drive children to work in the first place.
*David Husselbee,*
*Save the Children,*
*Islamabad, Pakistan*

*THE* moral outrage shown by Christian Aid and Clare Short against child labour in India obscures the real reason for the poverty: the unequal relationship between North and South. It is naïve to blame just one sports company for the poverty suffered by people in the South. It is even more naïve to believe that Ms Short, a minister in one of the most powerful Northern countries, has a serious concern for children suffering in India. Her crocodile tears hide her responsibility for the exploitation of the Third World: a relationship that will continue as long as she can dictate to people in the South how they should and should not earn their money.
*Parasathi Teare,*
*Gender Watch, London*

*INDIA* is facing an economic crisis. For every vacancy, there are at least 2,000 applications. Families living in rural areas of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh and Orissa are worst hit and the wages earned by their children are their only source of income. India has passed many laws banning the employment of children but unless the government can provide alternative employment for the parents, it would be morally indefensible to enforce them.
*Randhir Singh Bains,*
*Gants Hill, Essex*

*AS AN* activist working to eradicate child labour in India, it is my experience that parents, when they earn a living wage, send their children to school. Historical evidence in Britain and other developed countries points to the same.
*(Dr) Rukmini Rao,*
*Deccan Development Society,*
*Hyderabad, India*



## Quebec at the heart of Canada

*POLITICIANS* and the media have made it appear that in Canadian politics it is a question of "Quebec" versus the "rest of Canada". They have painted themselves into a corner. Canada is nothing if not a federal state. French Canada and English Canada are so interlocked that any attempt on the part of one province to secede will tear apart the fabric of both.

Some of the Fathers of Confederation were unwilling to face this fact with the result that while minority rights were guaranteed in the province of Quebec, everywhere else they were not. And since 1867 there have been battles over language and education in Manitoba, New Brunswick, Ontario, Alberta and Saskatchewan, to mention only the most notable.

English Canada has been saying one thing and doing another ever since the Confederation. It is therefore not at all remarkable that the people of Quebec have more than once considered the possibility of secession.

If the province of Ontario will not declare itself a bilingual province; if Alberta will not permit the use of one of our founding languages in its legislature; if, in several provinces, French Canadians have to fight for the maintenance of schools where they can educate their children in French — if all these things are true there is really no moral justification for Confederation to continue.
*Allen Ronaghan,*
*Edmonton, Alberta, Canada*

*THE* Quebec separation issue re-ignites conflicting passions in the west and in Quebec, gives the Liberals an excuse to hide from their shabby performance and allows the other rightwing parties to avoid the economic issues that are so crucial to our future. Meanwhile Canada's only truly liberal alternative, the social-democratic New Democratic party (NDP), is fighting for survival, unable to get its message across because of the total domination of the media by corporate interests. In all likelihood this media monopoly will once again persuade most Canadians to vote against their own interests.
*R M Sanford,*
*Vancouver, BC, Canada*

## No apology for sins of the past

*WE WISH* to disassociate ourselves publicly from the policies of the Australian prime minister, John Howard, towards Aborigines. His apology at the conference on reconciliation to the thousands of Aborigines taken from their parents under a past policy of forced assimilation (June 1) was spurious and hypocritical since he refuses to apologise officially on behalf of the government.

These people are still suffering the consequences of this heartless policy, which took children by force from their families and placed them in institutions where many of them suffered physical, mental and sexual abuse as well as losing family links and culture.

Far from demonstrating any real remorse for the horrible wrongs perpetrated by past governments, Mr Howard only seeks to further disenfranchise the indigenous population with his present policies.
*Marie Fisher, David Fisher,*
*Cashmere, Queensland, Australia*

*AS A* German citizen resident in Australia and an interested witness to the debate on Aboriginal Land Rights, I consider Dion Giles's comments (May 4) concerning the invasion of the Soviet Union by the German sixth army in the second world war naïve and hypocritical.

Australia today is the product of an invasion that has left the majority of its original inhabitants in a desperate state. This invasion was carried out not only by soldiers, but also settlers whose motivation was hunger for land. It is no exaggeration to say that the resultant murder, enslavement and subjugation of aboriginal people was tantamount to genocide.

It would seem that even now many Australians do not have the honesty, integrity or courage to acknowledge the violence and dispossession suffered by Aborigines, nor do they recognise that just compensation is required. This is in contrast to Germany, which pays millions of marks a year in compensation to Holocaust victims.

May I therefore suggest Mr Giles direct his energy toward the injustices in his own backyard before condemning those of another country, the vast majority of whom had no choice at the time but to serve in the military and obey orders.
*Gertraud Norton,*
*Wagga Wagga, NSW, Australia*

## Big Brother at the ballot box

*THE* débâcle of the recent election in Indonesia invites comparison with those held in the former Eastern bloc states: the result is known in advance and opposition groups are not allowed to put up candidates. Much play has been made of the demise of the communist states and many would claim roles in its facilitation. But where are those who will give similar assistance to the people of Indonesia, Burma and so many other states around the world that are dominated by military élites?

The privileged in these countries must be aware of the long-term need to reform. It is not difficult to find examples of those in the armies and the ruling élites bolstering their own economic advantage and control before what they see as the inevitability of at least the beginnings of democratic reform. There are those within such élites and apologists elsewhere who claim a need for the stability of authoritarian government to enable economic growth and development.

But I won't be holding my breath. A brief consideration of a developed country such as Britain, where a dominant economic élite controls a massive proportion of the land and resources, and where 10 per cent of the population are currently termed as living in Third World conditions, should be sufficient to convince us of the inefficacy of such theory.

There is a need for developed and democratic states to take a strong moral stand, backed by suitable action, to ensure that the many people around the world who are effectively in chains can have some hope for a better future.
*(Dr) David Blest,*
*University of Tasmania,*
*Launceston, Australia*

## Briefly

*L'OSSERVATORE* Romano should print the reports of the papal nuncio who is accused of complicity in torture, murder and kidnapping during Argentina's "dirty war" (Vatican says its envoy is innocent, June 1). It would be an invaluable aid to understanding the Catholic Church's response to manifest evil, as much as for what the report says as what they don't say. That was Pius XII's problem, in his case concerning the Nazis.

Sometimes what you don't say is more important than what you do say.
*Geoff Mullen,*
*McMahons Point, NSW, Australia*

*DAVID SHARROCK* (Blair takes new hope to Ireland, May 25) refers to the upcoming poll in Ireland as a "general election". This is a serious misuse of language. When a state's electoral laws systematically exclude 22 per cent of the people born within the state — and who now live elsewhere — from participation, such a poll is most decidedly not a "general" election.

The current Irish government and the opposition have shown in recent years that they intend to continue this discrimination against non-resident Irish citizens indefinitely. Yet these same people are quite content to send parliamentary delegations abroad to judge whether other states' elections should be decreed "free and fair", including states that allow their non-resident citizens the right to vote, such as South Africa.
*Daithi Ó Colchúin,*
*Sydney, Australia*

*I WARMLY* welcome Robin Cook's decision to end the manufacture, sale and export of land-mines (June 1). So why are the military chiefs going to stock these devilish weapons for another eight years?
*Frank Allaun,*
*Manchester*

*FIFTEEN* years ago, merely possessing a copy of the Guardian was regarded by some as a reason for MI5 surveillance. Now they are recruiting from its pages (May 25). Can I assume, therefore, that I have joined the Establishment?
*David Mitchell,*
*Pettaugh, Suffolk*

*OVER* recent years your "Spot the Reference to Eric Cantona" has been a regular feature of the Weekly. He was even used in the subscription ad alternately with Nelson Mandela — greatness indeed!

Now he has gone, but who knows, he may slip back into the Weekly in another guise. After all, it is said he will act anon.
*E Slack,*
*Castanet, France*


The Guardian Weekly
June 8, 1997 Vol 156 No 23


Annual subscription rates are £49 United Kingdom; £55 Europe inc. Eire, USA and Canada; £63 Rest of World.
Letters to the Editor and other editorial correspondence to: The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ.
Fax: 44-171-242-0985 (UK: 0171-242 0985); e-mail: weekly@guardian.co.uk





# Kohl battles to stop euro delay

**Ian Traynor**

CHANCELLOR Helmut Kohl, his project for the euro thrust into greater uncertainty than ever, tried on Monday to dispel doubts about the scheduled launch of the single European currency.

He stuck to his controversial plan to use the national gold reserves to help Germany qualify this year for the euro and implied that the French left's election triumph would not delay the launch of monetary union.

But after several days of repeated blows to the chancellor's credibility, the German opposition prepared to humiliate Mr Kohl further in a parliamentary vote expected on Wednesday on a resolution supporting recent Bundesbank statements repudiating gold revaluation. It also hopes to unseat the finance minister, Theo Waigel who pulled out of making a speech on Europe on Monday.

The combination of sudden political changes in France and Britain and the German government's battle with the Bundesbank over panic measures to curb the budget deficit have triggered a credibility crisis for Mr Kohl and placed a big question mark over the euro's prospects.

"Anyone who calls for a delay [in the euro's launch in 1999] must be clear about the consequences," Mr Kohl told a monetary conference in Switzerland on Monday. "The efforts for a united Europe have to be resolutely continued."

Despite fierce opposition from the Bundesbank, he said the government wanted to revalue the gold reserves this year to provide windfall profits that would help to keep the budget deficit below the 3 per cent ceiling needed to qualify for monetary union.

The opposition accused Mr Kohl of trampling on the "most sacred principles" of Germany's post-war political consensus and announced parliamentary motions calling on him to sack Mr Waigel and back the central bank's position on gold policy.

Senior opposition Social Democrats admitted that they had no chance of toppling Mr Waigel. But the second motion could be more embarrassing.

A joint motion by the Social Democrats and Greens, it asks the lower house to adopt as a parliamentary resolution last week's Bundesbank statement resisting the government's gold move.

That means government supporters will have to vote against a central bank headed by a Christian Democrat which enjoys great popular esteem. Such a move could cost the chancellor dear.

"This is the first time in the history of the federal republic that a government has tried to solve its budget problems by interfering with the Bundesbank's independence," said the Greens' leader, Joschka Fischer. "The damage is enormous."

The left's attacks were echoed on the right. The federation of German commercial banks strongly supported the Bundesbank and called on the government to back down.

**Larry Elliott, page 19**

## The Week

**PRESIDENT Clinton faces embarrassing questioning after the United States supreme court ruled that the sexual harassment case brought against him by Paula Jones should go ahead.**
Washington Post, page16

**A BOMB exploded in a crowded market place in the Algerian capital, Algiers, killing 10 people and injuring 40.**
Epidemic of death, page 12

**TURKEY'S Islamist prime minister, Necmettin Erbakan, said his crumbling 11-month-old coalition are to seek early elections to solve the crisis touched off by army demands for a crackdown on Islamist activism.**

**THE Peruvian congress voted to remove three constitutional court judges who ruled in January that President Fujimori should not be allowed to run for a third term in 2000.**

**CARL BILDT, the international community's high representative in Bosnia, has been replaced by the former Spanish foreign minister Carlos Westendorp, who takes over on June 20.**
Comment, page 1[illegible]

**TWO Austrian soldiers serving with the United Nations force were shot dead while on foot patrol on the Golan Heights between Syria and Israel.**

**MARCUS Wolf, the communist bloc's fabled cold war spy, was found guilty of abduction and assault by a western German court, six years after he turned himself over to the authorities in reunified Germany.**

**BETTY SHABAZZ, the widow of Malcolm X, was "near death" in a Bronx hospital after being burnt in a fire allegedly started by her young grandson.**

**A SERGEANT serving in the Russian peacekeeping force in the breakaway Georgian region of Abkhazia killed 10 colleagues and wounded three before turning the gun on himself.**

**BELGIUM'S hope of a full investigation of its paedophile scandal was dealt a blow when a Socialist MP, Patrick Moriau, published evidence given in private to the commission set up to determine whether officials helped to cover up the activities of sex abusers.**

**FADIL al-Jamali, twice prime minister of Iraq and foreign minister when that country's monarchy was overthrown in 1958, has died in Tunis, aged 94.**

**SINGER Bob Dylan, who has been on the road constantly since 1988, was released from hospital in New York after suffering a serious lung infection.**

# Clampdown in Kenya

**Scott Straus in Nairobi**

LESS than 24 hours after police broke up a democracy rally in Nairobi, triggering a day of rioting in the Kenyan capital, four opposition leaders were placed under temporary house arrest last Sunday.

Police surrounded the homes of Kijana Wamalwa, Raila Odinga, Kenneth Matiba and Paul Muite, four of the government's most outspoken critics, after protesters threatened to disrupt "Self-Government" Day celebrations.

The four were released after the celebrations. "The intention was not to arrest us [but] to prevent us getting to Uhuru Park," Mr Muite said.

Opposition to the government festivities, which were held under heavy security and included an address by President Daniel arap Moi, failed to materialise.

Church and opposition leaders have stepped up pressure for constitutional reform in the run-up to the general election later this year. They say changes to the constitution, which includes repressive laws dating from the colonial period, are needed before free elections can take place.

Last weekend Mr Moi again ruled out constitutional reform before the elections, but said that sections of the Public Order Act, which has been used to prevent opposition rallies, would soon be reviewed by parliament.

Marchers in Hong Kong mark the 1989 killings in Tiananmen Square. Meanwhile there are fears for China's best known pro-democracy prisoner, Wei Jingsheng, who is being denied medical treatment for heart problems. Last month he celebrated his 47th birthday — his 19th in jail. He is not due to be released until 2008 PHOTO: BOBBY YIP

# Asean to admit Burma

**Nick Cumming-Bruce in Bangkok**

THE Association of Southeast Asian Nations (Asean) is going ahead in the face of strong Western disapproval with plans to admit Burma as a full member in July, along with Cambodia and Laos.

The decision by Asean's seven foreign ministers, meeting in the Malaysian capital Kuala Lumpur, rebuffs a letter reportedly sent by the United States vice-president, Al Gore, setting out Washington's objections.

The US and the European Union have cautioned that Asean's high standing may be compromised by giving diplomatic comfort to Burma's junta at a time when its human rights abuse makes it a target for Western sanctions. Burma is also one of the world's biggest heroin suppliers.

Asean leaders also dismissed a videotaped appeal by Burma's opposition leader and Nobel peace laureate, Aung San Suu Kyi, to defer Burmese membership until the junta undertook political reform. She warned that Burma's admission would make its generals "more obdurate and oppressive than ever".

Several Asean countries were uneasy about admitting Cambodia at a time when bitter conflict between its co-prime ministers is fuelling a surge in political violence that could erupt into open warfare.

# Taliban driven out of key Afghan city

**David Loyn in Mazar-i-Sharif and agencies**

ETHNIC Uzbek forces drove the Taliban from the northern Afghanistan city of Mazar-i-Sharif last week after a ferocious 15-hour battle, dealing the Islamic militia one of its worst setbacks since it seized the capital Kabul in September.

The ethnic Uzbeks, led by General Abdul Malik, who had staged an ostensibly pro-Taliban mutiny against the opposition warlord General Abdul Rashid Dostam a few days earlier, turned on their new allies.

The Taliban, who only arrived two weeks ago, had created resentment among the city's residents by trying to impose their strict version of Islam. The Uzbeks were angry because the Taliban had not given them respect. Making no concession to local sensitivities, the Taliban had disarmed irregular militias, as they have done elsewhere.

Among the Uzbek fighters there are only two ranks: general and commander. Every street-corner warlord in charge of a dozen men is a commander, and the right to bear arms is sacrosanct.

The Taliban's northern allies turned on them not because of their draconian curbs on women but to preserve the right to carry guns.

In the tense atmosphere of the early evening on Tuesday last week, when it was still not clear whether the Taliban alliance would hold or not, the streets were full of gunmen. They were weighing up the options as the Taliban took on the small group of rebel militia. The "northern army" commander on the corner, 20 shops away, nervously fingered his radio. His men had backed the alliance with the Taliban to get rid of their last leader, Gen Dostam. Now they were angry. In the three days since the Taliban's arrival, he had personally gone into his village to give out guns after the Taliban had taken them away.

The backlash against the Taliban was not ordered. It was spontaneous. Gen Malik spent half the night trying to keep control, assuring the Taliban governor of the north of his support. But at two o'clock last Wednesday morning he arrested the governor as the alliance collapsed. The Taliban foreign minister, Mullah Mohammad Ghous, is missing and must now be assumed to be among hundreds of Taliban dead.

The most surreal sight of that mad night was of General Malik's father, Ghafar Pahlavan. He was casually sitting on a striped beach chair on a street corner, wearing soft blue slippers, as the bullets whistled around our heads. His contempt for the Taliban was clear.

The Taliban could never negotiate a peace with this man, even if his son wanted it. They now know they will have to fight every inch of the way if they are to control all the country.

Meanwhile Taliban forces were reported to have captured the town of Pul-i-Khumri after crossing the strategic Salang Pass. The town, on the main highway from Kabul, was held by forces of Syed Jafar Naderi, allied to the Dostam-led opposition.

But the Taliban information minister, Amir Khan Mutaqi, said thay had lost the town of Jabal-os-Siraj to opposition commander Ahmad Shah Massoud.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
June 8 1997

# Freetown battle shatters peace hopes

Claudia McElroy in Conakry and agencies in Freetown

THE Nigerian-led intervention force in Sierra Leone launched a naval bombardment of the capital, Freetown, on Monday, shattering hopes of a negotiated agreement with the leaders of last week's military coup to restore democratic government.

Staff at Freetown's Connaught hospital said 20 people had been killed in the seafront Aberdeen district. Terrified residents, who fled carrying bundles of possessions, said several more civilians had been killed in crossfire.

Rebels massed around a beach-side hotel in Aberdeen guarded by Nigerian troops where about 1,000 West Africans, Lebanese and Asians had taken refuge. In the city centre, rebels of the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and Sierra Leonean soldiers secured strategic positions in anticipation of an attack.

The Nigerians said they had taken over the airport at Lungi, north of the capital, which had been under uneasy joint control since the coup. Witnesses said the Nigerian troops, who are mostly positioned east of Freetown, were moving west through the bush towards the mutineers' stronghold.

Government troops roamed the streets in civilian clothing — a sign that they feared a Nigerian-led invasion and would slip into the civilian population once it began.

The Nigerian ships began their bombardment at dawn after talks between Nigerian and British diplomats and the coup leaders at the seafront military headquarters collapsed last Sunday.

It sparked off fighting in the city between, on the one side, Nigerian, Guinean and Ghanaian troops, and on the other the Sierra Leone army and RUF rebels.



One of several hundred rebels wandering the streets of Freetown PHOTOGRAPH: CORINNE DUFKA

The attack came after Major Johnny Paul Koroma, Sierra Leone's new head of state and chairman of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC), declared himself the leader of a 20-man military administration, with the rebel leader Foday Sankoh as vice-chairman. Maj Koroma promised a transition to democracy within 18 months.

A Western diplomat dismissed the creation of the AFRC as "rearranging the deckchairs on the Titanic" to reassure the army's lower ranks and the RUF, which has joined forces with the coup leaders but reportedly opposed a negotiated settlement.

While the ousted president, Ahmad Tejan Kabbah, is in Guinea, uniformed rebels have been unsuccessfully trying to persuade Guinea to stay out of the intervention.

Meanwhile the United Nations secretary-general, Kofi Annan, and leaders at the Organisation of African Unity summit in Zimbabwe on Monday implicitly endorsed Nigeria's assault on Freetown by saying all steps must be taken to restore democratic government to Sierra Leone.

"Where democracy has been usurped, let us do all in our power to restore it to the people. Neighbouring states, regional groups and international organisations must all play their parts to restore Sierra Leone's constitutional and democratic government," Mr Annan said.

He said Africa's leaders "expressed their revulsion at the coup against a duly elected government by a military clique".

None of the assembled leaders seemed outwardly troubled by the irony of looking to Nigeria's military regime, which came to power in a coup, to restore democracy in Sierra Leone.

Last week United States marines evacuated more than 800 foreigners from Sierra Leone. The US embassy was closed and staff transferred to Conakry, the capital of neighbouring Guinea.

# Opposition crushed in Indonesia poll

John Aglionby in Jakarta

INDONESIA'S ruling party Golkar recorded its most crushing victory in last week's general election, almost wiping out one of the two minority parties in the process, according to results announced on Monday.

Senior party officials said that even they were surprised by the margin of victory. Golkar won 74 per cent of the vote, six percentage points more than in the last election, in 1992. But the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) was almost annihilated, attracting only 3 per cent of the voters.

Abdul Gafur, one of the seven Golkar chairmen, said: "The result surprises us because according to our calculations we thought we could have only got 70 or 71 per cent."

Observers dismissed Mr Gafur's assertion that Golkar would now be in a stronger position to influence the decision-making process.

Cornelius Lay, a political analyst, said: "Golkar's position won't really be changed by this result, because the house of representatives has no real power at all. What is significant, however, is the destruction of PDI."

This time last year, under the leadership of Megawati Sukarnoputri, PDI appeared to be a credible opposition party. This election has shown that by removing her the government has snuffed out all viable opposition.

Megawati was ousted in a government-sponsored party coup last June. Opposed to her successor, Suryadi, she said she would not vote in the election and told her supporters not to back the PDI.

Mr Lay said: "The tiny PDI vote shows how many people still look to Megawati as their political leader. It also destroyed Suryadi's political credibility."

The United Development Party (PPP), the only other party allowed by law, increased its share of the vote from 17 per cent to more than 23 per cent. Despite this, many of its supporters protested about the results, complaining of electoral fraud.

Indonesians were voting for legislators to fill 425 seats of the 500-seat house of representatives. The other 75 seats are reserved for the armed forces. There were also elections for local representative bodies.

Meanwhile Indonesian troops were scouring the hills of East Timor in search of separatist rebels who killed 17 soldiers and police officers in an ambush last Saturday.

In the worst single attack in the territory for many years, rebels threw a grenade into a lorry carrying 26 policemen and two soldiers back to the territory's capital, Dili. Twelve were killed immediately and five others were shot dead while trying to escape the blazing vehicle. The 11 remaining passengers were all wounded.

The ambush occurred just outside the town of Baucau, 145 km east of Dili.

Major-General A Riavi, the military commander for eastern Indonesia, said scores of soldiers had been deployed to search for the rebels but no one had been arrested.

Washington Post, page 16

# Kabila sworn in as president

Chris McGreal in Kinshasa

LAURENT KABILA was sworn in as the new Congo's president last week under a decree he enacted only two days earlier legalising his ascension. But the former Zaire's chief justice, who administered the oath of office, had trouble adjusting to the new reality. During the ceremony he confused Mr Kabila with his deposed predecessor and the old country with the new.

To the rival chants of supporters and dissenters, Mr Kabila was sworn in before about 35,000 people in Kinshasa's largest stadium.

In the absence of a constitution, he pledged fidelity to the country and to his own decree, which gives him virtually limitless powers to rule by decree until elections are held.

In his acceptance speech — his first major pronouncement since the victorious Alliance of Democratic Forces marched into Kinshasa last month — he rejected calls for an early ballot and laid out a two-year timetable for a presidential election.

He was sworn in by the chief justice, Mungulu Tamaigane. Unfortunately, Mr Tamaigane addressed Mr Kabila as "Joseph" — Mr Mobutu's original name.

He met with derision from the crowd, including a group of women waving placards praising the new president. Just weeks ago the same group was known as the "Mothers of the MPR", Mobutu Sese Seko's old party. But, as one of them put it: "We always support the leader, whoever he is."

After his installation, Mr Kabila said his victory marked the end of the flagrant violation of human rights and the backward march of the Mobutu years.

"The growing impoverishment of the population, the destruction of our infrastructure, the looting of the national wealth by foreigners — that period is over. This is the beginning of a new era, a rebirth," he said.

Mr Kabila's two-year programme covered the election of a constituent assembly and the writing of a new constitution, culminating in presidential elections in April 1999.

The new president scorned foreign pressure for an early ballot, saying that he would not bow to "dictates from those who have supported the dictatorship".

He said: "We are not in a hurry, not at all. We need order. We need to organise. They want the Alliance to organise elections right now. Let's wait a little bit on this issue of democracy. We are not prolonging the previous regime if we construct a new state based on wiping out Mobutuism."

Not everyone likes the idea. Several hundred students in the stadium denounced the new government and the high-profile Rwandan presence in the Alliance. They focused on the foreign minister, Bizima Karaha, a Tutsi and therefore widely presumed to be Rwandan, although he denies it.

# Bolivians back ex-dictator

Gavin O'Toole

**THE victory of Bolivia's former dictator General Hugo Banzer Suárez in presidential elections last Sunday makes it clear that the country's impoverished electorate is tired of the breakneck pace of radical economic reform.**

**Gen Banzer, aged 71, who leads the conservative Acción Democrática Nacionalista (ADN), failed to win an outright majority and will face the runner-up in a congressional vote on August 4.**

**Unofficial results compiled by the media, which are considered reliable, put Juan Carlos Durán of the ruling Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionario in second place.**

**But the strength of Gen Banzer's party in congress — the ADN won 52 congressional seats out of a total of 157 — suggests that he is in a strong position to achieve his ambition of regaining the presidency through democratic elections. He has fought elections five times and in 1985 — despite winning at the ballot box — was thwarted by congress.**

**The United States will be relieved that another leading contender, Jaime Paz Zamora — a former president and the candidate of the centrist Movimiento Izquierda Revolucionario, whose cadres were the main target of repression under Gen Banzer's dictatorship — did not win second place.**

**Last year Washington denied him a visa because of alleged links to the illegal drugs trade. He has rejected the allegations.**

**The outgoing president, Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada, may inadvertently have increased support for Gen Banzer by concentrating his attacks on Mr Paz Zamora.**

**The provisional results gave Gen Banzer 22 per cent, Mr Durán 18 per cent and Mr Paz Zamora 17 per cent.**

**Gen Banzer's victory shows that the voters are weary of Mr Sánchez de Lozada's neo-liberal reforms, which have largely dismantled the inflated state sector fashioned by the general, and have sought to address his regime's legacy of debt.**

**An unorthodox privatisation programme has brought the government into conflict with the left and unions, and pushed prices beyond the reach of many Bolivians. The country is the poorest in the western hemisphere after Haiti.**

**After seizing power in a bloody coup in August 1971, Gen Banzer imprisoned and exiled tens of thousands of his opponents. The period of repressive dictatorship, known as the *Banzerato*, lasted until 1978.**

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
June 8 1997



# Bullets to go with breakfast

KINSHASA DIARY
Chris McGreal

**BREAKFAST will never be the same at Kinshasa's Intercontinental hotel. First the rebels' arrival heralded the end of the almond croissants. Then came the business with the grenade.**

**Just about the only person not disturbed by the little metal ball clattering on to the tiled floor and wandering its way laboriously under the breakfast tables was the young soldier who dropped it. He was more interested in opening his first beer of the day.**

**The regular clientèle of local businessmen and foreign diplomats sat frozen and incredulous until their liberator finally slouched his way over to recover his misplaced explosive and made off to blitz the buffet.**

**Most of the leaders of the revolution that revived Zaire as the re-christened Congo are now basking in Kinshasa's top hotel. With them have come young soldiers from the rural interior who have seen nothing like it. And, for all the decrepit state of Mobutu Sese Seko's defeated troops, the hotel has never seen anything quite like their conquerors.**

**Laden under an array of weaponry, rebels wander the lobby wide-eyed at the fine suits and electronic gadgets decorating the opulent shops. The lifts are a particular source of fascination and confusion. And the prostitutes in their mini-skirts and make-up have left some rebels close to a state of apoplexy.**

**The "Inter" had not filled more than a few dozen rooms at a time in years. The end of the war has brought a new boom, if filling the hundreds of rooms is what matters. Quite who is paying is another matter.**

**Half the hotel is owned by the government, which used to mean Mr Mobutu. His much despised son, Kongulu found it a favourite hangout for entertaining whoever took his fancy at someone else's expense.**

**The younger Mobutu's final visit to the "Inter" began at 3am the morning the rebels moved into Kinshasa. He jumped from an armoured car and stormed into the hotel in search of an errant army captain and the prime minister's family to settle old scores. Kongulu found neither, and a few hours later bolted across the river to Brazzaville. He left behind a $1 million hotel bill.**

**The hotel's manager is uncertain if the new order is any more credit-worthy as it does its best to compete with Kongulu's spending. The rebels even got the hotel to arrange Laurent Kabila's inauguration last week in the absence of anyone in Kinshasa with recent first-hand experience of swearing-in presidents.**

**Security outside the hotel is tight, if you don't have a gun. While men with weapons wander in and out unhindered, everyone else is searched with the exception of some of Mr Mobutu's former associates. The guards are having a hard time shedding old habits as they dutifully salute and wave them through the doors.**

# Irish voters ready for a change

Mary Holland

IRELAND'S 2.7 million voters go to the polls on June 6 to elect 166 MPs in 41 multi-seat constituencies. The latest polls suggest John Bruton's coalition government will be ousted by a partnership of Fianna Fail, led by Bertie Ahern, and the Progressive Democrats — whose leader, Mary Harney, is tipped to become Ireland's first woman deputy prime minister.

According to last Saturday's Irish Times, support for Fianna Fail and the Progressive Democrats stands at 49 per cent, compared with 39 per cent for the government parties. But with 14 per cent of voters undecided the outcome will be close, and may produce a hung parliament.

There were six independent deputies in the last Dail (parliament) and could be 10 or more in the next. The Green Party, which had one deputy, could win four or five seats. Sinn Fein could take one seat in Cavan Monaghan and possibly another in Dublin.

Mr Bruton's "rainbow coalition" — including the conservative Fine Gael, Dick Spring's moderate Labour Party and the much more radical Democratic Left — was formed in 1994 after the fall of Albert Reynolds's scandal-riven government. So voters are being given a clear choice. This has been underlined by Mr Spring ruling out the possibility of a Labour-Fianna Fail government, though many see the combining of two left-wing parties as more natural than the groupings on offer.

Much of the campaign has been taken up with each side emphasising the potential for splits in the other. But now Mr Ahern appears to have impressed on Ms Harney the need for a joint approach on the main issues and a discreet silence on the rest.

The government has a high satisfaction poll rating of 57 per cent. The economy is booming, and the Central Bank predicts a growth rate of 5.7 per cent in 1997 and inflation down to 1.8 per cent. After years of Ireland being regarded as economically depressed, it has been a psychological boost for the Irish to hear their country described as "the Emerald Tiger".

Yet the electorate seems prepared to behave as it has done since 1969 and to "vote agin the government". The drop in support for Labour from 19 per cent at the last election to 11 per cent means that the party stands to lose a number of the 33 seats it won in 1992, an all-time record.

Revelations of "sleaze" — payments to politicians and parties by big business — have contributed to public cynicism. Other issues, particularly a scandal related to the blood transfusion service, have contributed to the image of an arrogant and uncaring government. — *The Observer*

Blair's apology, page 10

# Clinton makes a new friend at No10

MOST British journalists and diplomats in Washington spend half their time wincing at any use of that hackneyed old phrase "the special relationship", and one recent British ambassador here actually banned it from his embassy. But I have never been so convinced of its continuing power as when Bill Clinton reminisces warmly about his affectionate respect for John Major.

In public and in private, in formal Oval Office interviews or just off-the-record chats in the White House or aboard Air Force One, Clinton always speaks fondly of the last British prime minister. This is remarkable. The political relationship between the White House and Downing Street was desperately strained when Clinton was elected. Conservative party officials had shared their polling, and their advertising strategies and even some researches into Home Office files in their attempt to help get George Bush re-elected. White House staffers such as George Stephanopoulos and Rahm Emmanuel held grudges far longer than Clinton, whose anger fades as fast as it flares.

The well-known rows over Northern Ireland and the visa for Gerry Adams provoked incandescent Clintonian rages. And White House officials probably read too much into the Clinton storms, as dutiful aides tend to do. But in retrospect I am convinced that the most serious deterioration in relations took place in the bitter rows over Bosnia.

"This is our worst crisis with you and French since Suez," I was told in the spring of 1995 by a senior State Department official, and at one grand official dinner at Blair House, a Pentagon general at my table said Nato would be dead by the time he retired. We now have on-the-record confirmation of the seriousness with which the United States viewed this crisis.

"The June, 1995 Nato meeting in Brussels was without question the most dismal I have ever attended," recalled the then defence secretary William Perry, writing in the last British Defence Review. "Paralysed into inaction, Nato seemed to be irrelevant in dealing with the Bosnian crisis. It appeared to me that Nato was in the process of unravelling."

Three developments saved Nato. The first was Clinton's judgment that the alliance could not be sustained in its traditional form, and his belief that it would have to be enlarged into eastern Europe and transformed into a pan-European security system if it were to survive. The second was the Croatian offensive of that summer which tilted the battlefield against the Serbs, and opened the way for the US air strikes, the Dayton peace accord and the commitment of US troops. The third was the Clinton-Major link.

"John Major carried a lot of water for me and for the alliance over Bosnia. I know he was under a lot of political pressure at home, but he never wavered. He was a truly decent guy who never let me down," Clinton told me in the Oval Office last month. "We worked really well together, and I got to like him a lot."

There is, by contrast, not the slightest trace of nostalgia for Major's ministers. One former foreign secretary is still known in the State Department as "Douglas Turd", and Malcolm Rifkind was seen, with much justice, as an arrogant stuffed shirt. And I treasure that passage in the memoirs of Clinton's Labour Secretary, Robert Reich, about the "deadly bore" of attending the 1994 Detroit jobs summit with Ken Clarke.



Matters of state . . . Prime Minister Blair listens as Bill Clinton addresses the British Cabinet, the first US president to do so, in Downing Street
PHOTOGRAPH: SCOTT APPLEWHITE

Clinton's soft spot for Major is the more striking because of the degree to which the president feels he is still clearing up the debris left by yesterday's men. Clinton is too cautious, even in private, to criticise George Bush, and is courting Bush's personal support to get the revised Nato treaty ratified by the US Senate, just as he deployed Bush to campaign for the North American Free Trade Agreement and the Gatt world trade pact.

But it was from Clinton's staff that I first heard the quip that the unhappy legacy of the Bush-Major years in foreign policy was "to see that Saddam Hussein kept power and Mikhail Gorbachev lost it". And Clinton reckons that his early foreign policy disasters in Somalia and Bosnia were the direct result of the Bush inheritance, despite Bush's inflated reputation as "the foreign policy president".

Major also had a very good relationship with Bush, and Bush's national security adviser Brent Scowcroft reckons that Major was "one of the steadiest and most reliable foreign leaders I ever dealt with". Major probably came as a relief after the hectoring ways of Mrs Thatcher, but after a rocky start, Bush even got on well with her. I recall him getting quite misty-eyed at a White House ceremony after she had lost office.

The hard fact is that, however much we may say Britain has lost weight in world affairs, or that Germany has become more important and that Britain now matters to the degree that it can be useful in Europe, there is a secret weapon in Anglo-American affairs. And the curious chemistry of the Clinton-Major connection illustrates it unusually well. The two men got on, in part because as responsible and professional politicians they had to craft some kind of working relationship, but also because British and American leaders have a great deal of business to conduct. The constant connections through Nato and over Bosnia and in dealings with Russia, reinforced by the Group of Seven leading industrial nations, and intensified by Northern Ireland, meant that Clinton was more in touch with Major than with any other foreign leader.

And since this was all done in a common language, in which they could understand nuances and tones of voice in a way that is seldom achieved through interpreters, they developed a growing sympathy almost despite themselves and their



## The US this week

Martin Walker

policy differences. They could commiserate over their joint problems with their own fractious parties, and had some triumphs to share, in Northern Ireland and in Bosnia, sweetening their encounters with mutual congratulation.

Barring accidents, this Anglophone chemistry should work for Clinton and Blair as well, and should do so with remarkable speed as this year's American-run G7 summit at Denver gives way to the British chairmanship of what we must now call the G8 for next year. Since that will happily coincide with Britain's European presidency, in which Blair will be pushing Clinton's own hopes for a swift enlargement of the European Union to match the Nato expansion, the Bill and Tony show seems fated to become very intimate very fast. And if Blair finds some thoughtful way to exploit Clinton's soft spot for Major, it could go even better.

But we should not get carried away. The myth of Bill-and-Blair synergy, of the Clinton clone winning his way to Downing Street with the advice and slick polling skills of the avuncular Clinton campaign, has been carefully nurtured by aides on both sides. It is a whopping embellishment of the truth.

Beyond the disparities between a presidential and a parliamentary system, there are three salient differences between the first two Anglo-American leaders to have been born since the second world war. The first is that Blair commands his party, which has been rebuilt into a genuine and energised mass membership, and can equally command his legislative majority. By contrast, Clinton came to power despite his Democratic party establishment and believes he was repeatedly let down by the Democrats in Congress. He has relied on Republican votes to enact his free trade strategy, to raise the minimum wage and reform welfare.

The second difference is that Blair appears to lack the human frailties that have weighed down the Clinton presidency, such as last week's revival of the Paula Jones lawsuit for sexual harassment. Far more important than the fact that each baby-boom lawyer-politician is married to an ambitious and high-achieving woman lawyer is the contrast between Blair's self-control and Clinton's indiscipline. Clinton's resilience in overcoming these repeated embarrassments is hugely impressive, but Blair looks likely to avoid this steady bleeding of Clinton's energies and credibility.

The third key difference is timing. The two men share the project of modernising tired old progressive parties and moulding them into election-winning teams accommodating social change and free-market economies. But Clinton came first, charting not only the opportunities but the pitfalls which lie in wait in a postmodern social democracy. Blair knows better than to take risks by rewarding a controversial new constituency, as Clinton did by defending the rights of gays in the military in his first weeks in office.

But Blair's team have also learned from Clinton's setbacks. Again there are three main lessons. The first was to avoid the wrangling between left and right during the Clinton team's first 100 days, and accept the initial advice of Federal Reserve board chairman that the economy would best be revived by orthodox economics.

Clinton ditched his campaign plans for a Keynesian-style stimulus package. Instead he raised taxes and cut spending, for which the markets rewarded him by cutting interest rates and paving the way for five years of economic recovery and job creation. By giving the Bank of England its independence, Blair and his Chancellor, Gordon Brown, have signalled that they, too, accept the power of markets over modern government.

The second lesson has been the need for tight political control over the nerve centre of executive government. In the role of political appointees in key posts once filled by the professional civil service, Downing Street under Blair (as under Thatcher) looks more and more like the White House. Clinton's early disasters were hatched in a White House whose staff were disorganised, whose meetings were undisciplined and which tried to do too many things at once. Blair's rigorous agenda of legislative priorities owes a lot to Clinton's bumpy start.

The third lesson is more personal: to keep the unelected First Lady out of the political area, despite her impressive attributes and the need to signal an understanding of gender politics. Clinton told me last month that he reckoned a big mistake of his first term was to tackle health reform first and welfare reform later. The price he paid was to waste the talents of his wife on too grandiose a goal. The moral for Blair and his wife Cherie was clear, but the unprecedented number of women MPs in the new House of Commons also spares the prime minister the need to reward the women's vote by promoting one emblematic female.

But the biggest difference of all between the two men lies in the area where Blair is less the student than the example for Clinton. Since the failure of health reform, Clinton has shied away from ambitious domestic schemes. Blair, in pursuing devolution for Scotland and Wales and reform of the House of Lords, has embarked on a stunning reorganisation of the institutions of the British state.

Blair, enriched by a towering parliamentary majority, knows what power he has to reform home affairs and to keep his promise to restore Britain to the centre of European affairs. Clinton's own grand strategies for Nato, Europe and a global free trade agenda stand in cruel contrast to the emaciation of his domestic project, an imbalance imposed upon him by those early and pioneering mistakes from which Blair can now benefit.

Blair has one more advantage over Clinton. He has learned how not to manage a party in parliament from Major, whose honest talents and best intentions over Europe were constantly sabotaged by his own Eurosceptics. And now Clinton's own negotiation of a balanced budget with the Republicans and his decision to renew China's Most Favoured Nation trading status are under assault from Congressman Dick Gephardt, the Democratic leader in the House. Indeed, if one faint cloud can be discerned on the Anglo-American horizon, it could be Clinton's open envy of Blair's grip over the British Labour party.

Simon Hoggart, page 10



# A young mother opens her door to a stranger who flings acid in her face. Her crime? Being a woman

**Shyam Bhatia in Cairo**

SAWSAN Abdel Hamid, a 25-year-old mother from the Al Aneriya suburb of Cairo, hides her blind eye behind a patch made from her mother's curtains. She is another victim of the vicious acid attacks against women that have spread through Egypt.

Hundreds have been horribly scarred, triggering a campaign among doctors, social workers and women's activists seeking tougher laws to punish the attackers.

Abandoned by a husband who cannot bear to look at her, Hamid rarely leaves her mother's home for fear the neighbours will mock her injuries. Acid burns have etched deep marks on her chest and ear and disfigured half her face. "It would have been better to have died," says this quietly spoken woman, who has a four-year-old daughter. "I have no life to speak of; I spend all my days at home, away from the eyes of other people. I feel I am worth nothing."

The attack happened when she answered a knock at her door and a stranger — a man in his mid-forties — threw a saucepan of brown liquid at her. He is still at large, and Hamid, who has endured 15 operations on her face, is now bankrupt. Her only brother, Nasser, sold his car to pay for operations but says he cannot afford to pay for a glass eye that might encourage her to emerge from her isolation.

Psychiatrists say there are many explanations for this form of violence. "Acid attacks are most often the result of male jealousies," says Dr Abdallah Mansour of the Al Nadim Centre for the Management and Rehabilitation of the Victims of Violence. "Usually when there is a jealousy it's because the wife is attractive to others. Perhaps the husband has a problem, like impotence."

He cites the case of 19-year-old Marwa Mohammed Kamal, disfigured when her fiancé attacked her with acid after she broke off their engagement. Despite operations, she is still so badly scarred she feels she has to hide one side of her face.



Marwa Kamal is so badly scarred that she feels she has to hide

Her 64-year-old father has had to sell the family home to pay for his daughter's treatment. "Now we only have God to stand with us," he said.

The sulphuric acid attacks have focused attention on what human rights activists and sociologists see as a frightening growth in violence against women, motivated by sexual and economic frustration and by the ideals of some Islamic militants. Acid attacks were once the preferred punishment of Islamic terrorists against young women seen as offending religious sensibilities by wearing make-up and mini-skirts. Now they have spread to the secular ranks of frustrated lovers and angry husbands and fathers.

Dr Amal Hamdy, one of Cairo's best known plastic surgeons, sees an average of two new patients every week and has operated on 50. He says: "Sulphuric acid is used to destroy a woman so she never marries again. It's also cheap and easy to carry. One patient lost both her eyes after being attacked by her drug-addicted husband because she wanted a divorce.

"The acid eats away at the muscles, bones, membranes and vital organs. It's very expensive to treat because we are talking about multiple operations, which cost thousands of Egyptian pounds." Dr Hamdy has joined forces with women's rights groups to press the government to ban over-the-counter sales of acid. Concentrated sulphuric acid, popularly used as a domestic and industrial cleaner, can be bought with no questions asked for less than $1.50 a litre.

Most of Hamdy's patients are operated upon free of charge at his government-run hospital. But those who opt for private care may find they have to sell their personal possessions to pay for the prolonged treatment. Dr Galil Grace, another burns specialist, says the cost of one operation in a private clinic can exceed $8,000 in a country where the average monthly salary is equivalent to $125.

"I had a women whose face, neck and chest and both arms were affected," said Dr Grace. "I did three operations. We had to build an eye socket. You can imagine the cost."

Sentences on those attackers who are caught are extremely lenient. Kamal's ex-fiancé was sentenced to only three months' imprisonment.

Dr Hamdy comments: "The solution lies with our government, which should make acid more expensive and difficult to obtain. The penalty should be at least 10 years in prison."

Feminists hope the publicity generated by acid attacks will raise awareness of the other types of violence routinely used against women. A survey by Egypt's National Population Council discovered that at least one in three married women had been beaten by their husbands. The unpublished report has embarrassed the government and is being kept under wraps.

Working women must be careful not to offend the religious sentiments of those Egyptian men who believe a woman's place is at home. Indeed, Islamic fury is offered by some police interrogators as the only possible explanation for the attack on Hamid. Some neighbours believe she was attacked by a Muslim fanatic who did not approve of her leaving home without a veil. Her brother has a simpler explanation: "I wish I could catch the man responsible for destroying my sister's life. He must be criminally insane."

**IT'S SIMPLE, cheap and brutally effective: a bottle of acid thrown in a woman's face and the damage is permanent, *writes Ishan Joshi*. From China to Canada, India and Jamaica — and even in Britain — increasing numbers of men are taking revenge on women.**

**In Bangladesh there were 96 attacks last year, and many more in India. In Jaipur, capital of Rajasthan, 16-year-old Shivani Jadeja was on her way to an exam when two young men threw sulphuric acid in her face. She had spurned a local politician's son — and paid for it with her looks.**

**But not all attacks are sexually motivated. Two years ago in Madras, India, V S Chandralekh, a well-known woman civil servant, was attacked by supporters of Ms Jayalalitha, chief minister of the state of Tamil Nadu, as part of a political vendetta. And at the peak of the separatist insurgency in Indian-administered Kashmir, secessionists threatened acid attacks on women who did not cover themselves completely in public.**

**In Bangladesh, nitric rather than sulphuric is the acid of choice. Nurun Nahar was a 15-year-old schoolgirl and a local beauty when she was attacked by a man whose romantic advances she had spurned. Today she keeps her face veiled.**

**In the shanty towns of Kingston in Jamaica there have been several cases of "baby mothers" — teenagers who have had children by notoriously promiscuous men — throwing acid on rival lovers. And in Shanghai, a teacher was sentenced to death for pouring concentrated sulphuric acid on her lover's wife and daughter.**

**In Scotland, Louise Duddy was blinded by acid thrown by a thug hired by her former husband. And in Toronto, Canada, Taduesz Kolodziej and Halina Szpala were jailed for 10 years earlier this year after blinding one of Szpala's love rivals.**

# Where literacy is written in the wind

Complacency is costing Kerala its title as India's most literate state, writes **Suzanne Goldenberg**

LIKE most of the village women, S Ramani has the chafed palms of a lifetime's hard work coaxing tough coconut husk through a spinning wheel to turn it into rope. But she has another talent: an ability she carefully nurtures by collecting old newspapers and writing to a brother working in the Gulf.

"Today, I can keep my secrets and my family life private. If I have something to say to my brother, I don't have to tell it first to strangers," she said.

In most parts of India, where the national literacy rate for women is 39 per cent, it would be practically unthinkable for someone like Mrs Ramani to read and write. Not so in Kerala, where the rate touches 90 per cent, and people are ashamed if they do not know how to read.

But having conducted perhaps the world's most successful campaign for mass literacy, and having declared the state fully literate in 1991, campaigners are finding to their dismay that people are forgetting what they have learnt.

"Something disastrous happened. We made our people literate, but we didn't attend to their needs for continuing education," said K Sivadasan Pillai, who for the past 40 years has been one of the state's leading literacy campaigners.

It took more than a century to teach Keralites to read, and it was due more to the efforts of social reform movements which emerged in the 1870s than to the government.

Ten years ago campaigners determined to start by making a single village fully literate within months. "We told them, 'You should become literate so you won't be exploited by others'," Mr Pillai said.

Thousands of volunteers descended on the village, primers on civil rights and agriculture were written. The experiment worked, and the campaigners then set out to teach an entire town, and then a district, to read.

In 1991 the communist-led government supported an even more ambitious initiative to make the whole state literate: 1.2 million people graduated from the course, supposedly able to write a simple letter.

People still remember with pride the date on which total literacy was declared; they are less certain how the dream was lost.

"I have never found a greater degree of complacency than in Kerala. Having become 89.9 per cent literate, and having felt themselves the models for a nation, they lapsed into a stupor," said Bhaskar Chatterjee, director of the National Literacy Mission in New Delhi.

Mr Pillai estimates that three-quarters of the 1.2 million people made literate in the last big campaign have lost their skills. Among them are Mrs Ramani's classmates.

Three of them pore over a newspaper headline in Malayalam, the local language, shaking their heads in confusion.

Kerala's declining literacy could serve as a cautionary tale, except that standards in the rest of India are even worse. The national literacy rate is 52.2 per cent whereas in China, the rate is approaching 80 per cent. What is even more unsettling is that literacy remains the preserve of the powerful.

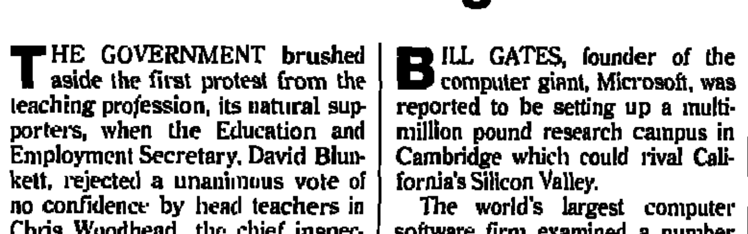
Although the government has promised to make India fully literate within the 10 years, in reality its aims are far more modest. Literacy programmes get 5 per cent of the national education budget, which in turn represents less than 4 per cent of government spending.

"We believe that a crude literacy rate of 75 per cent for a target population aged 15 to 35 is all we need for the nation," Mr Chatterjee said. "After that literacy becomes self-perpetuating, because literate parents will send their children to school."

But for Mrs Ramani's classmates it may be too late. "I forgot most of the alphabet. I can just about write my name," said H Srilata, a weaver. "My daughter has a BA, but it would be a stroke of luck if she found work, so what can I hope for?"

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
June 8 1997

## The Week in Britain James Lewis



# Head teachers' enemy survives sacking call

THE GOVERNMENT brushed aside the first protest from the teaching profession, its natural supporters, when the Education and Employment Secretary, David Blunkett, rejected a unanimous vote of no confidence by head teachers in Chris Woodhead, the chief inspector of schools.

Mr Woodhead has attracted the hostility of most of the teaching unions because of his condemnation of an estimated 15,000 incompetent teachers and his belief in the need to reform what he regards as a complacent profession.. The National Association of Head Teachers (NAHT), in a conference motion, demanded his removal from office, claiming that head teachers, staff and governors had lost confidence in him.

But Mr Blunkett, speaking at the same conference, confirmed that Mr Woodhead would not only keep his job but also become joint-vice-chairman of a task force that is being set up to "evangelise" more effective classroom techniques.

"Let no one, no sceptic, no cynic, no energy-sapper, erode the enthusiasm and hope that currently exist," said Mr Blunkett, who will personally head the new task force.

Mr Woodhead will share the vice-chairmanship with Professor Tim Brighouse, chief education officer of Birmingham and an arch-critic of the Woodhead inspection regime which, he claims, creates a "reign of terror" in schools.

The Government demonstrated its policy of "zero tolerance" of failure by closing St Richard, a comprehensive school in Camden, north London, which it said had let its pupils down by failing to raise its standards during nearly three years of remedial measures.

It is also introducing a fast-track procedure for getting rid of incompetent teachers. The schools minister, Stephen Byers, said the Government refused to join the "conspiracy of silence" about a minority of teachers who were damaging children's opportunities, and the time taken to secure a dismissal should be reduced from the current 18-24 months to around six months.

---

SIR ROBIN Butler, the cabinet secretary and head of the Civil Service, blocked the appointment of Jonathan Powell, the Prime Minister's chief political aide to the job of principal private secretary to the prime minister.

The post is traditionally held by a politically neutral civil servant and for Sir Robin, already concerned about the number of political appointments in Downing Street, it was a move too far.

Earlier, Sir Michael Bett, head of the Civil Service Commissioners, warned that only three political appointments could be made to senior Downing Street posts. If Labour wanted more, it should seek the approval of Parliament. Sir Michael is responsible for compliance with the Civil Service code, which requires that posts be filled on the principles of fairness and open competition.

Since the election, Labour has moved many members of its campaign team into Whitehall jobs, including Tony Blair's press secretary, Alastair Campbell.

---

BILL GATES, founder of the computer giant, Microsoft, was reported to be setting up a multimillion pound research campus in Cambridge which could rival California's Silicon Valley.

The world's largest computer software firm examined a number of European sites for its next "big project" and settled on Cambridge because of its long academic heritage and reputation, A secret deal was negotiated between Microsoft executives and a group of academics, including the best-selling author, Professor Stephen Hawking, who is Lucasian professor of mathematics at Cambridge. One of his former pupils was Nathan Myhrvold, now Mr Gates's right-hand man.

If the deal goes ahead, it will be the largest investment of its kind in the United Kingdom.

---

HOURS after the Government announced its intention to review the contentious law on surrogacy, two gay men from Greater Manchester revealed that they were using gay contacts and scouring magazine advertisements to seek a surrogate mother who would bear them a "family child". They insisted that they had a "God-given right" to be parents and were looking for a mother or a lesbian couple who would have a child by artificial insemination and share his or her upbringing.

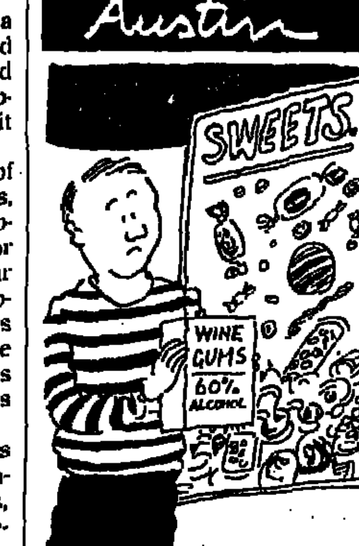
Their efforts to adopt or foster have been refused on disability grounds. Russell Conlon, aged 39, has osteoarthritis and osteoporosis, while his partner, Chris Joyce, 32, has epilepsy.

Mr Joyce would be the donor if surrogacy went ahead.

---

THE DEBATE on the alleged marketing of alcoholic drinks to teenagers intensified when a distribution company refused to abandon the launch of sachets containing neat spirits, despite a report condemning them as irresponsible.

Pierhead Purchasing said it would press on with its nationwide launch of Totpaks, sachets manufactured in South Africa and each containing 30ml of spirits at up to 40 per cent proof. The company said they were aimed at elderly people, hikers, anglers and campers who would find it inconvenient to carry a glass.




Some of the women sent to Australia as orphans 50 years ago, arriving in London PHOTO: DAVID CHESKIN

# Exiled orphans seek lost families

**Sarah Boseley**

A GROUP of women sent to Australia as orphans 50 years ago returned to Britain last week on a journey to discover their roots and meet the families they had never known.

There were emotional scenes as the 40 women arrived at Heathrow airport to be met by friends and relatives. All the women had been abandoned to orphanages in England and Ireland by mothers not able to care for them because of financial and social pressures.

Most were sent to Perth in 1947 aboard the cruiser Osterley with other British emigrants, in hopes of a better life where the future seemed brighter than in Britain, deep in depression after the second world war.

The women, now aged 54 to 64, were brought up by the Sisters of Nazareth at Nazareth House at Geraldton, Western Australia.

Many were not told they were embarking on a new life. Eileen Ashby, aged 57, who was eight when she was sent from an orphanage in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, said: "I did not have a clue what was happening. What does an eight-year-old know? I was just put on to a coach with in Cheltenham.

"We ended up in Southampton and spent six weeks on a boat. When we arrived someone said we were in Australia, but it could have been anywhere. We ended up at another orphanage and I really thought I was back at the same one."

Mrs Ashby, who is making the journey with her husband Brian, aged 51, said she never knew until years later what had happened. She then began the search for her Irish mother, with whom she was reunited six years ago. Her mother has since died.

"It was not until years later I realised how far we had come. We had no records and had been taken away from our homeland. It was not until after I left the orphanage at 18 that I went back for information," Mrs Ashby said, but the orphanage had no record of where she came from except a birth certificate with the wrong name on it.

She said her mother had been sent to England when she became pregnant and had left her there as a baby.

"As a child I was bitter about everyone who had mums and dads, and I wanted to know why nobody wanted to have anything to do with me. I felt I had been robbed of family life. No one has ever really said sorry to me.

"I don't blame my mother for anything and just feel she had a hell of a hard time. The British government has got a lot to answer for, sending us out without any records. At the time I just thought I was going on holiday."

In general, the women do not feel bitter about their treatment because of the happiness they found. "We had a marvellous time in Australia," said Valerie Standen, aged 58. "It is a beautiful country and it could not really have been better. It felt very strange coming here." She is hoping to meet her sister for the first time in 45 years.

# Degree to end dodgy dealing

**IT IS a posh new degree that could be a nice little runner . . . and put paid to the dodgy used salesmen who have gone through the Arthur Daley university of life, *writes James Meikle.***

**The motor industry is to get a degree course in car dealership. Twenty-two students, sales people already employed in the Ford network, will this week start a three-year part-time BSc. They will be taught management, marketing and business skills as well as customer care — rather than how to promise "one careful lady owner" and "genuine low mileage".**

**Mike Allmond, manager of ReMIT, the training company of the Retail Motor Industry Federation, which is backing the course, said the days of Arthur Daley (the shady businessman in TV's Minder) were gone and forgotten. "You can't con the customer and have them back. The reality is that the motor retailer is a reputable trader who has to rely on quality of service."**

# Cases of soldiers shot as cowards to be reviewed

**David Fairhall**

THE prospect of more than 300 soldiers executed for cowardice and desertion in the first world war being officially pardoned was last week welcomed on behalf of ex-servicemen by the Royal British Legion.

A review of the 305 cases, many of them involving shell-shocked youngsters who had no chance to prepare a defence and no right of appeal before facing a firing squad, was ordered by the armed forces minister, John Reid. The minister warned that this was a complicated legal and moral issue, and he did not want to build up premature hopes among surviving relatives.

Investigations have also shown that at least five of the 305 soldiers were under age and should not have been serving according to army rules at the time.

The legion said that in the light of current medical evidence those executed for cowardice during the 1914-18 war should be pardoned.

Andrew MacKinlay, Labour MP for Thurrock, who has long campaigned for a posthumous pardon, has meanwhile tabled a motion in the House of Commons which he believes may find support from a majority of MPs.

Dr Reid was among those who backed an earlier Commons move by Mr MacKinlay to have the men pardoned. His new motion argues that even if a few of those executed failed to live up to the highest standards, "time, compassion and justice dictates that all these soldiers should now be treated as victims of the conflict".

Mr MacKinlay said that those executed were denied natural justice because they had no chance to prepare a defence — for example, by producing medical evidence of shell-shock — were not properly represented, and had no right of appeal.

In his ministerial announcement, Dr Reid said: "From where we stand today, we can only imagine the horror of life in the trenches."

Hidden shame, page 23

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
June 8 1997



# Fury at Camelot pay rises

**Andrew Culf**

THE National Lottery operator, Camelot, was this week embroiled in fresh crisis as it emerged that four senior executives are to receive large bonuses on top of salary rises averaging 40 per cent.

Directors will receive bonuses totalling almost £700,000 for the year ending March 1997, a period when profits fell from £51.1 million to £46.8 million, and when £143 million less was raised for good causes.

The payments will be made to chief executive Tim Holley and executive directors David Rigg, Peter Murphy and David Clark in two instalments.

Camelot's hopes of restoring confidence in its running of the lottery were dashed on Monday when the Heritage Secretary, Chris Smith, rejected proposed concessions over directors' pay and company profits.

Mr Smith summoned Sir George Russell, Camelot's chairman, to discuss the pay rises and bonuses. Sir George offered to donate the equivalent of the bonuses to charity and to consider plans to move the lottery towards a non-profit operation.

But after meeting for more than an hour, Mr Smith rejected the olive branch, which he said ignored the key issue of excessive and unjustifiable payouts to directors.

He has given directors until the end of the week to come up with an acceptable offer to hand back at least part of their pay rises.

Mr Smith said: "Camelot came armed with the small concession that they should make a donation from their profits equivalent to the bonuses . . . I don't believe that addresses the public anxiety and concern that's being shown, and I was disappointed that they hadn't come armed with anything else."

He reiterated his warning that failure to address this anger, demonstrated by hundreds of protest calls to his department, would harm the lottery. "If people don't retain confidence in the lottery then they won't play it."

The meeting took place amid speculation that fury over the pay rises was behind the £4.5 million drop in lottery ticket sales for last Saturday's draw, but Camelot, blamed the hot weather.

The dispute may have reached an impasse, with Sir George saying he has gone as far as possible. Describing the meeting as "constructive", he said the salary and bonus arrangements were built into directors' employment contracts and could not be overturned.

Mr Smith, who has already outlined plans to transfer the running of the lottery to a not-for-profit operator, said: "The key message is that the National Lottery is for the prize winners and for the good causes. It is not for profiteering. I am very angry indeed."

He did not rule out terminating Camelot's contract early, even though it would be a legal minefield.

A Downing Street spokesman said: "The Prime Minister's reaction is the same as that of millions of people who buy lottery tickets up and down the country — one of outrage."

A spokesman for the Virgin Group chairman, Richard Branson, who unsuccessfully bid to run a non-profit lottery, said: "If ever the directors of Camelot have created a good argument for an immediate windfall tax, like that to be faced by the privatised monopoly utilities, this is it."

# Clarke gets a boost as Tory leadership race hots up

**Rebecca Smithers**

THE final lap of the Tory leadership race began last weekend with the former party chairman Sir Norman Fowler pledging his backing for shadow chancellor Kenneth Clarke's bid to succeed John Major.

The latest endorsement of the only centre-left candidate in the contest — and the bookies' favourite — is seen as a considerable coup by Mr Clarke's campaign team, because Sir Norman is on the centre-right of the party.

In a less surprising move, the former deputy prime minister, Michael Heseltine, also pledged his allegiance to Mr Clarke.

In a strongly supportive statement, Sir Norman said he is backing Mr Clarke because he is a proven Commons performer and the opponent most feared by Labour, and will have most appeal to the "middle ground" where the Tories have lost so much support.

With nominations due to open at noon on Thursday for the first ballot on June 10, final campaigning reaches a climax this week.

Meanwhile two of the rightwing contenders in the contest offered an olive branch to Mr Clarke, saying they would be happy to have him in their front bench teams. But both Peter Lilley and John Redwood played down suggestions that their camps were in discussion with fellow contender Michael Howard's team over combining forces to ensure neither Mr Clarke nor centrist candidate William Hague won the leadership.

But Mr Hague last week claimed a further boost to his campaign to lead the party when the former Scottish secretary, Michael Forsyth, declared his support for the former Welsh secretary.

All six candidates promised to declare the sources of their campaign finance after Sir Gordon Downey, Parliamentary Commissioner for Standards, made plain that new rules would require it.

# PM offers hope to jobless

**Rebecca Smithers**

THE PRIME Minister on Monday offered a "new bargain" with Britain to help get the "forgotten millions" into work, but made it clear that people will have to learn to help themselves under his reform of the welfare system.

Tony Blair promised "empowerment, not punishment" to help encourage lone parents to find jobs. His proposals received a cautious welcome from pressure groups, who said they would fight any moves to make attendance at a Job-Centre compulsory. They called for a national childcare strategy rather than a "piecemeal" scheme funded by lottery cash.

In his first major speech outside Westminster since the general election, Mr Blair set out a philosophy for modernising the welfare state rather than presenting any new policy proposals. He spoke from the carefully chosen backdrop of a bleak housing estate in Southwark, south London.

He flagged up the Government's "welfare to work" Budget — which was confirmed for July 2 — when the Chancellor will announce plans to help put 250,000 jobless young people into work or training funded by the windfall tax.

"This new alliance of interests to build on 'one nation Britain' can only be done on a basis of a new bargain between us all as members of society," he said. "The basis of this modern civic society is an ethic of mutual responsibility or duty . . . You only take out if you put in. That's the bargain."

Mr Blair underlined figures showing that 5 million people of working age live in homes where nobody works while more than a million had never worked. In addition, Britain had the highest proportion of single parent families in Europe. Central to helping them back to work is improved childcare, where the Government plans to encourage more after-school clubs, funded by the private sector and lottery cash.

Anne Longfield, director of the Kids' Clubs Network, said: "The majority of lone parents want to work but cannot even begin to search for a job without childcare support."

Runaway . . . A protester is led away by police having been arrested at Flywood Camp, Manchester airport PHOTOGRAPH: MIKE SEWELL

# Bailiffs bullish at Manchester

**David Ward**

**FEWER than 30 protesters remain in tree houses and tunnels on the site of Manchester airport's second runway after raids by bailiffs over the past week.**

**"We expect to finish clearing all the trees by Wednesday morning," said Randal Hibbert, the under-sheriff of Cheshire commanding the eviction.**

**The last protester at the Sir Cliff Richard OBE Vegan Revolution camp emerged from his tunnel on Monday after six days. Seven other protesters remain underground at Flywood, including three in Cakehole, the most complex tunnel on the site.**

**About 20 activists, including one in a hammock 70ft up, are left in two tree houses at River Rats, the sixth and last camp on the site to face eviction.**

**As climbers this week trimmed trees next to the 80ft ash in which the houses are built, other protesters outside the security fence shouted encouragement to colleagues.**

**The final three Flywood residents — including Phil, who had stood on a branch 70ft up with a noose round his neck — came down on Monday after they and six colleagues living in the four-decker Battlestar Galactica tree house took to the upper boughs on Sunday night.**

**Meanwhile Swampy, the subterranean environmental activist, slipped back on to the protest stage under the noses of security guards on Monday.**

**Five months after his high-profile eviction from the Fairmile camp on the route of the A30 dual carriageway in east Devon, Swampy helped reoccupy the site in a move that caught the Anglo-German road building consortium unprepared.**

**Poor air quality and fear of a cave-in drove Swampy out of the his latest hole in the ground within hours. He said the decision to abandon the Manchester runway protest and return to Devon had been worthwhile.**

**"We want to show them that even though they evict us one time we will be back."**

## In Brief

**DOCTORS monitoring an outbreak of *E. coli* poisoning at Falkirk hospital in Scotland have identified six new cases, while health officials in England are investigating two outbreaks involving children. The number of people who died as a result of an *E. coli* outbreak in Scotland last year is now a record, after the death of the 20th victim.**

**GWYN JONES, a farmer who triumphed in sheep dog trials across Britain, was fined £2,000 after being found guilty of five charges of causing unnecessary suffering to five collies.**

**LYNNE KELLY, the woman at the centre of a bitter legal battle over her unborn baby, has had her pregnancy terminated.**

**A POST-ELECTION jump in house prices and strong demand for home loans have seen price tags on house prices jump by 1.2 per cent during May — three times the rise recorded the previous month.**

**THE academic George Bain was appointed as chairman of the new Low Pay Commission on the day a report by the Employment Policy Institute claimed a minimum wage of £3.75 could be introduced without adding to dole queues.**

**THE Criminal Cases Review, investigating alleged miscarriages of justice, is receiving cases at the rate of seven a day.**

**KATHLEEN ATKINSON, the nurse at the centre of an inquiry into the deaths of several patients at Newcastle's Royal Victoria Infirmary, has been charged with two attempted murders and incitement to murder.**

**CHRIS SMITH, the National Heritage Secretary, signalled an early end to Channel 4's funding formula payments to ITV when he ordered an urgent review of the arrangement.**

**A CRAZE for "lift-surfing" in tower blocks had claimed its first victim, Paul Illingworth, aged 10, who fell eight floors down a concrete shaft on the estate he lived in near Leeds.**

**STEPHEN MARTIN, aged 41, and David Mitchell, aged 34, became the first British expedition to succeed in an unsupported attempt to reach the North Pole.**

Women reach Pole, page 25

**THE West End production of Ibsen's A Doll House, at first denied permission to transfer to Broadway, won four Tony awards.**

**TWO British nurses accused of murdering an Australian colleague have offered to set up a trust fund in memory of the victim if they are reprieved.**

# Armed services fear tough cuts

**David Fairhall**

BRITISH service chiefs facing a six-month "strategic defence review" were last week fearful that Whitehall's accountants have their sights on the British armoured division in Germany, and the navy's long-range surface fleet.

The Defence Secretary, George Robertson, launching an overhaul of Britain's £22 billion defence budget, admitted that pulling troops out of Germany was seen by some people as a good way of saving money.

And observers say the navy's "blue water" surface ships could be vulnerable to Treasury raids because individual cancellations can save large sums and the future fleet is not fully determined.

Mr Robertson acknowledged that it was not realistic to expect any increase in spending. But he pledged the Government would try to reach a national cross-party consensus in which foreign policy commitments, not Treasury cash limits, would dictate the shape of the armed forces.

The review would be "foreign policy-led" and the Ministry of Defence would work closely with the Foreign Office. Opposition parties and the parliamentary defence committees would also be consulted.

Mr Robertson said: "I do not want this to be a Labour strategic defence review. I want it to be Britain's defence review."

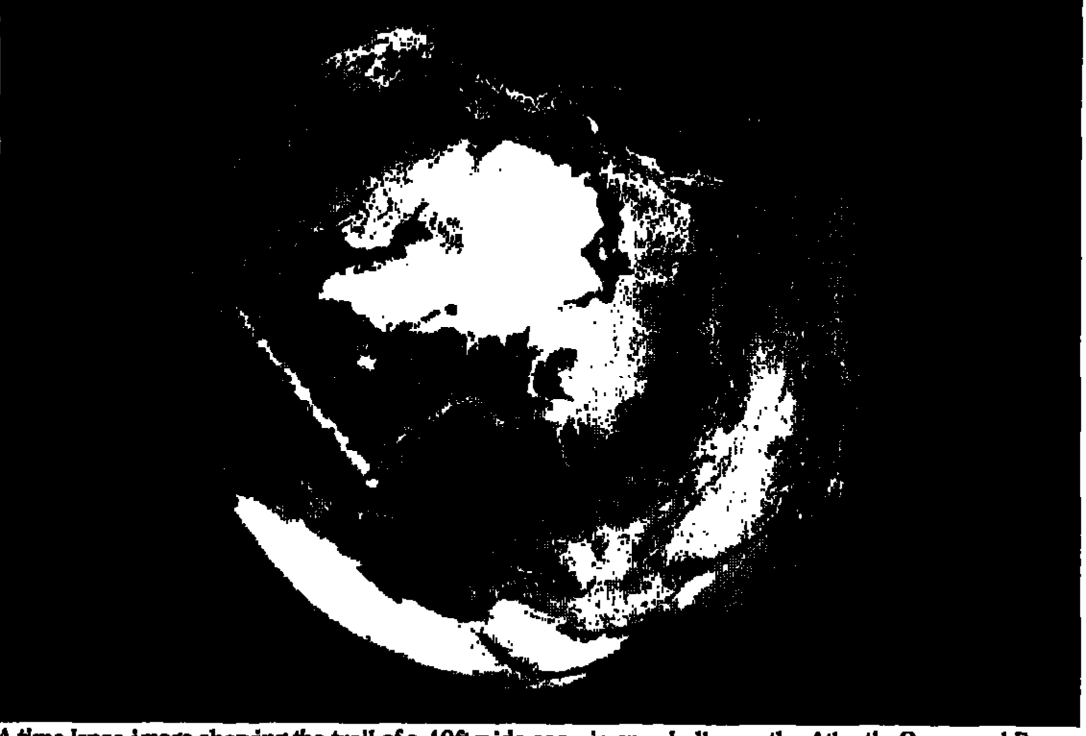
But the shadow defence minister, Nicholas Soames, said: "There is no consensus with Labour on defence. The Conservative party opposes the defence review and will be warning people that everything 'under review' is under threat from Labour."

Mr Robertson remarked on the value of retaining a capability for "high-intensity" warfare, even if British forces are usually engaged in low-intensity peacekeeping — a message that seems to have been impressed on him by soldiers he met in Bosnia last month.

He singled out the British forces' peacekeeping skills as one of the strengths on which to build.

The review will not be accompanied by a moratorium on defence equipment decisions. Labour is aware that an estimated 400,000 jobs are supported by the MoD's £9 billion equipment budget. This is one reason the RAF top brass are more relaxed about the defence review than their army or navy counterparts.

It was left to the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and the Liberal Democrats' defence spokesman, Menzies Campbell, to suggest ways in which Britain's nuclear force could be scaled down. Referring to the security pact signed by Russia and Nato last week, and President Boris Yeltsin's promise to disarm missiles pointed at the West, Mr Campbell said: "Any review of Britain's defence needs must include rigorous scrutiny of the level of our nuclear capability."



A time lapse image showing the trail of a 40ft wide cosmic snowball over the Atlantic Ocean and Europe

# Satellite shows ice blocks raining on Earth

ICE blocks weighing as much as 20 tonnes have been seen hurtling through space towards Earth, *writes Clare Longrigg.*

They were photographed by a National Aeronautics and Space Administration satellite as they approached the Earth's atmosphere, where they melted.

The discovery vindicates the claims of American astronomer Louis Frank, of the University of Iowa, who first revealed the existence of the phenomenon in 1986. His claim that a satellite had recorded chunks of ice entering Earth's atmosphere attracted only scorn from his colleagues.

He said that Nasa's Dynamics Explorer satellite had spotted icy chunks plunging into the atmosphere at the rate of 20 a minute, but other astronomers dismissed his claims as a misinterpretation of the satellite's observations.

Now his findings have been independently confirmed by a second Nasa satellite. Thomas Donahue of the University of Michigan, one of Dr Frank's most vociferous critics in the past, said: "All in all, the observational evidence is overwhelming."

Not only have the ice "mini-comets" been photographed by satellites, but pictures also show holes in the ultraviolet emissions that radiate from Earth. These appear to be caused when the ice melts and generates clouds of water vapour.

# And they smiled and smiled

SKETCH
**Simon Hoggart**

**PRESIDENT Clinton arrived in Downing Street last week, hobbled out of the car and started smiling. Mrs Clinton smiled too. So did Tony and Cherie Blair. Goodness, how they smiled. They did not stop.**

**It must have been painful smiling all the time. When they posed outside No 10 they looked like participants in a mass Moonie wedding.**

**Mr Clinton was very glad to be among us. No wonder, since it meant a full 24 hours more without anyone mentioning Paula Jones. So it was unkind of a photographer to shout: "Could you get down on one knee, please?"**

**The other photographers laughed their heads off, but the Clintons and Blairs just kept on smiling. The president had a walking stick, calling to mind the old American joke: "How does a Razorback [Arkansan] count to 20? Takes his boots off. And 21? Drops his pants." Now President Clinton can count to 22.**

**They went inside. I checked out the limo. Just an ordinary armour-plated Cadillac Fleetwood Brougham runabout. In the back was a folder marked "For the President: Information", which, if it's like other American guidebooks to London, may be highly misleading: "Prime Minister Blair hates informality. Address him as 'Your Sublime Excellency'... passengers on the Tube will love to see pictures of your grandchildren..."**

**Inside, Mr Clinton swept into the Cabinet room. Tony Blair, still smiling, welcomed him. "We are absolutely delighted to have you here. It is a very great day for us." Then he said it again. Brown-nosing is the small change of international diplomacy.**

**The president made a little joke, about wanting to have a 179-seat majority. The Cabinet laughed sycophantically, and when he had finished they thumped the table. A colleague described it as "a dignified banging", which is something Mr Clinton knows all about.**

**The wives headed off to the Globe Theatre to see part of Henry V. Its famous line, "Once more into the breeches, dear friends," is an important watchword in the Clinton household.**

**The husbands went to the White Room and smiled at each other. Mr Clinton said he had read the Labour manifesto. "The future, not the past. For the many, not the few. Leadership, not drift." He was getting the message. Verbs lose elections.**

**Later, they appeared in the Rose Garden. Bees buzzed, sirens whined. Then the president strained credulity one last time. He was so glad he had come in time to see Britain's "unique and unspeakably beautiful spring". But at that point, the only time he'd been outdoors was on his ride from the airport. Now I live near Hounslow. No one has ever called it unspeakably beautiful, even in nice weather. But this was a summit meeting, and had nothing to do with reality.**

# Apology for British role in Irish famine

**David Sharrock**

BRITAIN failed the Irish people in the famine which claimed more than 1 million lives 150 years ago, Tony Blair said at the weekend, in a move to heal a long-standing Anglo-Irish wound that was welcomed by Dublin.

Mr Blair became the first prime minister to acknowledge the malign role played by the British government during the famine of 1845, when the potato crop failed due to a blight and millions starved, but produce was exported to England under armed guard. The population of the island halved through death and emigration, and has never recovered.

In a statement read out at The Great Irish Famine Event, an evening of music and dance in Millstreet, Cork, last Saturday to commemorate the tragedy and celebrate the Irish diaspora, Mr Blair said the famine had left deep scars.

"That 1 million people should have died in what was then part of the richest and most powerful nation in the world is something that still causes pain as we reflect on it today," he said.

"Those who governed in London at the time failed their people through standing by while a crop failure turned into a massive human tragedy. We must not forget such a dreadful event. It is also right that we should pay tribute to the ways in which the Irish people have triumphed in the face of this catastrophe. Britain in particular has benefited immeasurably from the skills and talents of Irish people."

Mr Blair added: "Let us therefore today not only remember those who died, but also celebrate the resilience and courage of those Irish men and women who were able to forge another life outside Ireland, and the rich culture and vitality they brought with them.

"Britain, the United States and many Commonwealth countries are richer for their presence."

The statement, which came as a surprise, was read out by the actor Gabriel Byrne. Later, the Irish president, Mary Robinson, lit a candle to honour the dead and the emigrants.

The Irish prime minister, John Bruton, warmly welcomed Mr Blair's statement, which is in keeping with his policy of developing much closer links across the Irish Sea. "The Prime Minister is to be complimented for the thought and care shown in this statement."

# Protestant mob kills off-duty policeman

THE loyalist marching season in Northern Ireland claimed its first police fatality last weekend when an off-duty Royal Ulster Constabulary officer was kicked to death by Protestants angry at the rerouting of a parade in a Catholic village, *writes David Sharrock.*

The killing of Constable Gregory Taylor coincided with a resumption of activity by the IRA, which abandoned a land-mine in west Belfast.

The surge in violence came as South Africa hosted a weekend peace conference that drew representatives from nine parties from Northern Ireland, and only a few days before all-party talks on the province's future resume. The latest developments suggest that a difficult summer of parades is in store.

Constable Taylor had been socialising with a fellow officer in Kelly's Bar, Ballymoney, Co Antrim, and another friend when an argument erupted about the RUC's handling of a loyalist demonstration in the Catholic village of Dunloy.

Some of the hundred people in the bar, including members of a loyalist flute band, began abusing the men about the violence during an Apprentice Boys parade two weeks earlier, and were thrown out.

As the two policemen left the pub with their friend, Constable Taylor was seized, punched and kicked to the ground. He was dead on arrival in hospital. The 41-year-old officer held the RUC's long service and good conduct medals and was married with three children.

Dunloy has been at the centre of clashes since last summer's fractious marching season, when its Catholic residents refused to allow Protestant Orange orders through without their consent. Loyalists have picketed a Catholic church in the mainly Protestant town of Ballymena every weekend, hurling sectarian abuse at worshippers.

The RUC is 93 per cent Protestant but is increasingly taking on the mantle of a third community, feared by nationalists and accused of selling out by unionists.



# Rules for immigrants to be relaxed

**Alan Travis**

THE Government is to scrap the notorious "primary purpose" immigration rule that has ruined family life for thousands of genuine couples.

A formal announcement of the decision taken at a Cabinet meeting two weeks ago is to be made by the Home Secretary, Jack Straw, as the final details are worked out about the treatment of hundreds of current applicants. Home Office ministers have already instructed officials to adjourn all pending immigration appeal cases in which the only issue is "primary purpose" until the announcement.

The rule was introduced in 1980 to refuse entry to a person wanting to marry a British citizen if it was judged to the satisfaction of an immigration officer that "the primary purpose" of the marriage was to settle in Britain.

Critics have called it the catch-22 of the immigration system, with applicants having to prove a negative — that they were not getting married simply to come to Britain. They say it has created more hardship for Britain's ethnic minorities than any other immigration rule as it particularly discriminates against those who have arranged marriages.

A Home Office spokeswoman confirmed last week that ministers intend to implement their manifesto commitment to reform the rule. Mr Straw has told Keith Vaz, the MP for Leicester East, that he wants to "remove the arbitrary, ineffective and unfair results that can follow the primary purpose rule".

It is believed a decision was taken by Cabinet to introduce the reform by announcing a change in the immigration rules. Reform is likely to switch the burden of proof on to the immigration officer to prove that a marriage is bogus before he or she can refuse entry. Applicants will still have to meet the other existing criteria — that they have previously met their intended partner, that it will be a genuine marriage and will not be a burden on the taxpayer — before they are allowed into the country.

It is believed that initially the change will apply only to marriages. Ministers are also considering the situation of those in long-term common law marriages and stable gay and lesbian relationships.

Further reforms of the immigration system are expected to include the restoration of appeal rights to grandparents and other family visitors who are refused visas to come to Britain for births, weddings and funerals.

Another candidate for primary legislation expected next year is the regulation of unlicensed immigration advisers, who give applicants expensive and inaccurate advice at the taxpayers' expense on legal aid.

Keith Best, chief executive of the Immigration Advisory Service, welcomed the decision, saying the primary purpose rule had caused "both injustice and resentment to the ethnic communities settled in this country, particularly those who want to marry someone from the Indian subcontinent. It is exciting because it puts to an end this very unfair test of having to prove a negative."

He said the change would not lead to Britain "opening up the floodgates" and added that many cases "end up with the entry clearance officer making a subjective judgment which often is wrong. The Immigration Advisory Service wins more than half such cases on appeal."

At present more than 69 per cent of applications from fiancées are rejected on primary purpose grounds and 58 per cent from potential husbands.

# Pensions split for divorcees

**Richard Miles**

SEPARATING couples will be allowed to split their pensions at the point of divorce under legislation expected to be announced this week by the Social Security Secretary, Harriet Harman.

The Pension Sharing Bill, scheduled to reach the statute books by April 2000, will give former partners an entitlement of up to half their former spouse's pension fund from the moment their divorce is ratified by the courts.

Under current law, the courts may "earmark" a proportion of a person's pension fund for the spouse for purposes of a divorce settlement, but the transfer of pension rights takes place only on retirement. Furthermore, the claimant loses the pension rights if he or she remarries.

The bill, expected to be introduced within a year, will also end the different treatment that divorcing spouses receive in Scotland, where judges may take pensions into account when deciding how the marital assets should be divided.

But the Pension Sharing Act might come too late for people who seek a divorce before 2000, since the Government has given no indication that the new rights will be applied retrospectively.

Building on proposals earlier this year by her Conservative predecessor Peter Lilley, Ms Harman believes that pensions-splitting at the point of divorce is the only way to ensure that women are given sufficient retirement income when they separate from their husbands.

The courts will still have the power to decide how much of the pension fund is assigned to the divorced spouse. However, if the pension is split rather than earmarked, then the wife's rights will not dry up if the husband dies after retirement, nor if she remarries.

Pension experts said it was also possible that the bill would allow a spouse's entire pension fund to be taken into account for the divorce settlement, rather than the proportion of the fund built up since the beginning of the couple's marriage.

Sallie Quin of Fairshares, an organisation which has campaigned for the pension rights of divorced women, welcomed the plan to accelerate introduction of pensions-splitting, but warned that correct valuation of the pension fund was critical to the new system.

# French vote for a new deal

FOREIGN observers are inevitably prone to emphasise the French general election's effects on European relations and on the international situation rather than its immediate domestic consequences. Yet the emphatic victory of Lionel Jospin's Socialists on June 1 is less a European or an international event than a specifically French one. Once again, as they have done on several occasions in recent years, the French electorate have thrown out the politics of austerity and reasserted their wish to preserve the welfare state and maintain high levels of state support for industry and agriculture. Some will see that as part of a revolt against European monetary union. Others will interpret it as another chapter in a global shift away from the right and towards the left. Perhaps it is both of these things. But in the first instance it is a statement by voters that what they have they intend to hold.

The victory of the French left owes less to Mr Jospin's positive achievements, though they are many, than to President Jacques Chirac's negative ones. Voters never like to be sent to the polls earlier than is necessary, especially by a government that has failed to deliver on its promises. Having given the right a five-year term in 1993 and then conferring the presidency on Mr Chirac two years ago, the voters were entitled to assume that they would not be called upon to reconsider until 1998. By going to the polls a year early with unemployment rising, Mr Chirac took a stupid risk with his own power-base, for which he has now been severely punished. In the first round, Mr Chirac's rightwing alliance took only 36 per cent of the vote. In the second round last Sunday, in spite of a higher turnout that was supposed to improve the right's chances, his RPR-UDF coalition lost almost half its seats. With five years of his *septennat* still to run, Mr Chirac could be beginning the longest lame-duck presidency in history. He has no one to blame for that but himself.

Mr Jospin's victory is nevertheless remarkable. When the Socialists lost in 1993, most observers wrote the obituary of the party created by François Mitterrand around 20 years earlier. Ideologically uncertain, tainted by corruption, riven by faction, and increasingly remote from everyday realities, the Socialist party seemed to be in terminal crisis. Yet within four years Mr Jospin has given it the new direction it seemed to lack. A creditable showing in the 1995 presidential race was followed by a decisive victory in the contest for the party leadership. Mr Jospin's personal honesty and austerity, allied with his pragmatic commitment to socialist policies, have now won him the party's first electoral success without Mitterrand in the history of modern France.

The result will presumably now be a long period of political *cohabitation* between a Gaullist president and a largely Socialist government. President Chirac knows more than anyone living about such *cohabitation*, having been prime minister twice in such circumstances during the Mitterrand presidency. Those episodes suggested that this French version of coalition government was uneasily manageable, providing that each partner acknowledged the controlling influence of the president over foreign affairs and the prime minister over domestic policy. And this time the European single currency, nominally a matter for the president, will loom over every domestic decision that the new prime minister tries to take. Something will have to give and, as the markets sensed on Monday, that something is at least as likely to be France's willingness to accept the constraints of the Maastricht single currency criteria as the blunting of the Jospin government's ambitious job creation schemes.

Outside France, it is too easily assumed by Eurosceptics that the election tolls the bell for the single currency. It does not. Mr Jospin's first response to his party's victory was to promise "a re-orientation of a European project which has my support", words that suggest a readiness to amend and loosen the Maastricht criteria rather than to postpone, let alone abandon, the single currency. Nevertheless, the left's victory is a blow to the thrust and direction of French domestic and European policy alike. If it is to fulfil its promises, the Mitterrand-Chirac policy of the "strong franc" will have to weaken, and such weakening will inescapably threaten Europe's prospects of completing monetary union according to the Maastricht criteria and timetable. But French political opinion, Mr Jospin included, remains committed to the euro. Most on the French left seem likely to opt for softening the austerity rather than for wrecking the single currency. Chancellor Kohl too seems ready to accommodate such a policy, if he can settle his differences with the Bundesbank.

The intriguing question from the British perspective is whether the Socialist victory can help to create an effective new leftwing synergy in Europe with Labour's ascendancy in Britain. There is no reason why this should not happen. Means, motive and opportunity all exist as a result of Mr Jospin's and Mr Blair's victories. The two governments have a common, jobs-oriented agenda and a European Union single market in which to make it work. Granted, the two parties have been pushed along different paths by their countries' differing recent histories. But never before has there been the prospect of five years' simultaneous left-of-centre government on both sides of the Channel. The real question is not whether the British and French governments can co-operate, but how.

# A problem that won't go away

LAST week was an important and productive one for Nato, signing an historic charter on a new relationship with a suspicious Russia and discussing in detail which of the new east and central European democracies should be invited to join. But the 16 members of what is still called The Alliance are having much less success in dealing with what most people think is the gravest European security issue of our post-cold war times — Bosnia.

Repeating a tired stock phrase of international diplomacy, Nato foreign ministers meeting in Portugal expressed "serious concern" about where the halting Dayton peace process was going. And President Bill Clinton told reporters in London that "if we work like crazy" it would still be possible to meet his June 1998 deadline for withdrawing Nato's 30,000-strong Stabilisation Force (S-for).

The president's remarks may signal the start of a new crisis over a problem that just won't go away. The British Foreign Secretary, Robin Cook has made clear that the UK will not keep its 5,000 men in Bosnia if the United States withdraws its 8,000-strong contingent. France would not feel any different. Carl Bildt, the outgoing international mediator, warned that a premature pullout would leave a security vacuum.

So as the clock ticks, the talk is getting tougher. Madeleine Albright, the US secretary of state, has again thrown the spotlight on the vexed issue of war criminals in her forthright meeting with Balkan leaders last weekend: four years after it was set up by the United Nations, the Hague Tribunal has indicted 75 people, including the Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic and his army commander, General Ratko Mladic. But like most of the other suspects they remain at large. Only nine people have been arrested and sent to The Hague.

S-for is not mandated to ferret out suspected war criminals, and prospects for creating a snatch squad, whose work would certainly be harder and more dangerous than it sounds, have foundered on both military and diplomatic caution. Yet many people believe that is exactly what highly-trained special forces, such as Britain's SAS, are for. And nailing any of the big names could give badly needed impetus to the work of Mr Bildt's Spanish replacement, Carlos Westendorp, who it is widely feared may not have the necessary clout *vis-à-vis* the Americans.

Mr Westendorp has his work cut out: under the Dayton accord, Bosnia is supposed to be a single state comprising autonomous Serb and Muslim-Croat territories. But the inter-ethnic central cabinet and presidency have so far failed to carry out most of the agreement's major provisions. Few refugees have been able to return to their homes, and the delivery of reconstruction aid has been held up by disputes among rival ethnic groups. Bosnian leaders still cannot agree on a central bank, a single currency or a national telephone system. There is no single Bosnian passport. Scarcely any of the "joint institutions," in which Muslim, Serb and Croat members are supposed to govern together, are working.

Not only governments need to act. Western media interest in Bosnia, so intense and influential while the fighting still raged, has fallen off sharply. With another dangerous deadline looming, "serious concern" alone is just not enough.

# Algeria overwhelmed by epidemic of death

Victoria Brittain

ALGERIA'S election this week takes place in a country held to ransom by terror — daily assassinations, car bombs, rail sabotage. The terror, like the election, marks the struggle between the generals in power, and a deep-rooted Islamic movement which refuses to lie down and die, despite a massive military campaign to stamp it out.

Algeria's influence on the other countries of the Maghreb, and far wider in the Arab world, is immense — hence the acute anxiety in western Europe and the United States about this hidden struggle with Islam. A radical Islamic government in Algeria would be a geo-political upheaval of more seismic proportions than the Iranian revolution 20 years ago.

Two rival visions of the future of this oil-rich Mediterranean country are fighting for legitimacy this week. On the one hand, the government of President Lamine Zeroual is claiming "normality" by holding these legislative elections. On the other, the banned Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) has launched a detailed proposal for direct talks with the generals, a ceasefire, and international mediation, as the only chance of ending the killings and permitting a real election.

For five years, since the FIS were on the point of winning the last legislative elections and they were cancelled by the generals, Algeria has been consumed by violence. Tens of thousands of people have been killed. Thousands more have fled into exile. Amnesty International puts the figure of deaths at 60,000; other researchers suggest a figure as high as 80,000.

The truth is that no one knows how many have died, or in what circumstances, or at whose hands. Initially it was simple: the radical Armed Islamic Group (GIA) claimed the killings of numerous prominent secular intellectuals, and many of the car bombs that shattered the centre of Algiers and other towns. The FIS, whose top leaders Abbassi Madani and Ali Bel Hadj have been imprisoned since June 30, 1991, and which is outlawed inside Algeria, has repeatedly denounced the killings from exile in Germany, Britain and the US, but gone virtually unheard. The FIS's own armed wing, the Islamic Salvation Army (AIS), has attacked only military installations and made little impact, although the government last week announced a major sweep against them in the south.

Gruesome stories of killer dwarfs, home-made guillotines, massacres in country districts of dozens of people in a single night by bands of 100 or more Islamic youths; of women's throats slit; of small children decapitated; of dozens or hundreds of Islamists killed in fire fights with the authorities, are the everyday fare of Algerian newspapers. The picture that emerges is of a secular government at war with ruthless Islamists. It is a picture which fits neatly with Western stereotypes of Islam.

But there is a growing credibility problem with these stories of massacres, based on military communiqués and with virtually no reliable first-hand reports. Nor do the occasional interviews given to Western journalists by fierce young men claiming to be from the GIA ring true to Algerians. The GIA has long since fragmented into small regional groups, led by men in their early 20s whose past history is frequently of petty theft or desertion from the military. Their violent crimes are often indistinguishable from those of the government's civil defence groups.

The infiltration of the GIA by the security services, and the manipulations and intra-group killings that have resulted, are behind the phenomenon of frightened ex-policemen seeking asylum abroad, hiding from the ghosts of atrocities committed by the regime in the name of the GIA. Not all of them of course have really turned against the state, and the paranoia and confusion of shifting alliances in the exile community is a reflection of the insecurity Algerians live under at home.

The major political assassinations since 1992 are part of this picture of seemingly inexplicable violence from which the Islamists are not the beneficiaries. Mohamed Boudiaf, brought back from exile to be president after the crisis of the cancelled election, was a man carrying the prestige of the liberation war years and the determination to clean the dark corners of military power. He was assassinated at a public meeting surrounded by his bodyguards. It is hard to find an Algerian who believes the official story that it was the sole responsibility of his bodyguard, Lembarek Boumaarafi, an Islamist, but with no links to an Islamic organisation. The powerful trade union leader, Abdelhaq Benhamouda, murdered just as he was about to head the newly created National Democratic Rally party of the government, died implicitly blaming *le pouvoir* (the power).

THIS violence on so many levels has brought a sea change in mood since the presidential elections of 1995, in which the turnout of 75 per cent was widely seen as a rejection of extremism. There was then a mood of optimism that President Zeroual would be able to curb the "eradicators" among his generals, bent on stamping out the FIS and the GIA at any price.

The situation has changed even more dramatically since 1992 when the cancellation of the elections the FIS would have won was broadly welcomed by secular society, and particularly by women who feared "an Islamic dictatorship".

The wasted lives of the desperate youths of the GIA, or the well-educated young FIS in exile, are an indictment of the government's military strategy. The proposals for a political settlement, such as the FIS put forward last week, were the basis of talks held at various times in the past two years by all the political forces except the government itself.

With the election campaign the government says it has closed the door on the FIS, and boasts that "terrorism" is finished. But without the excuse of the violence, the regime would have to deal with the huge social problems, such as unemployment, lack of housing, and falling living standards that made people turn to the FIS in desperation in 1991. The key to the spiral of violence lies in the hands of the regime itself.



# Arafat attempts to silence his critics

Patrice Claude in Jerusalem

SINCE his return to Gaza in July 1994, Yasser Arafat in his capacity as chairman of the autonomous Palestinian Authority and his aides have been trying to keep "their" media in line. The chairman, the argument goes, has quite enough on his hands in dealing with Israel.

The latest person to feel Arafat's wrath is Daoud Kouttab, one of the best-known Palestinian journalists in the region. On Arafat's orders, Kouttab was taken into custody on May 20. He was held without being questioned or charged, and denied visits by his family or friends. Kouttab was released without explanation on May 27.

The arrest sparked a wave of indignation, and prompted the United States ambassador in Jerusalem, Edward Abington, to put pressure on the Palestinian leader to release Kouttab, who also has US citizenship.

As during the Israeli occupation, Gaza's Palestinian inhabitants are resorting to wry humour to cope with the situation, and it says far more about the mood in the territory than any number of official reports.

One joke has a man complaining of an excruciating toothache. "For heaven's sake, see a dentist," urges a friend. "What's the point?" the man asks. "We aren't allowed to open our mouths any more."

A number of Palestinian journalists have been detained for a day, a week or a month for an article that was too critical, a quote from a political opponent that was too extensive, an embarrassing disclosure or — and this actually happened — for not giving a positive piece of news about the chairman the page display it deserves.

The mix of intimidation and small favours for the "good students" has turned the once combative Palestinian press into an enterprise that daily sings Arafat's praises.

Of the three Arabic-language dailies still published in the occupied and autonomous territories, two are directly under Arafat's control, and the third, the theoretically independent Al Quds, practises self-censorship so heavily in order to be allowed to exist that it is often a turgid read.

The paper's political editor, Mohamed Shaker Ahmed, admitted as much earlier this month when he said: "We can't write what our conscience dictates. The pressure is too great."

Apart from the fact that the Israeli military censorship still applies to newspapers and periodicals published in Jerusalem, Arafat only likes publications that kowtow to him. If Kouttab did not know that, he certainly does now.

The offence committed by this journalist, born 42 years ago in Bethlehem and now living in East Jerusalem, was to have let people hear what their elected representatives were saying in the Palestinian legislative assembly. By doing that Kouttab, who runs a small commercial television production company, found himself caught in the middle of the tug of war between the executive, headed by Arafat, and the legislature, which came into existence just over a year ago.

The Speaker of the assembly, Ahmed Korei (Abu Ala), fed up with the Palestinian media routinely ignoring — on orders "from above" — the chamber's proceedings, lively and interesting though they may be, decided to do a deal with Al Quds University, which has a small transmitter at Ramallah.

The dutifully submissive Palestine Broadcasting Corporation (PBC), which covers practically all the territories thanks to financial and technical assistance from France, refuses to take any interest in the work of Palestine's elected representatives. So Korei thought that he would be able to keep at least the residents of "Palestine's temporary capital" and the surrounding area informed via the small transmitter at Ramallah.

The university obtained a licence to broadcast without too much difficulty, and called in the services of Kouttab's company.

Everything went well for a few weeks. Kouttab, who last year won the US Prize for Press Freedom, believes in his mission. Because the Ramallah transmitter has only limited reach, he distributed videotapes of the debates to the small commercial television stations proliferating in the West Bank's seven autonomous townships (there is no commercial television station in Gaza, which is the seat of the executive authority).

To everyone's surprise, this proved a huge success. Television viewers discovered how their 88 elected representatives work, debate, call for explanations from the ministers who are present and attack the "abuse of power, violations of human rights, unacceptable concessions made to Israel, the corruption of the ruling élite and the bureaucracy" — everything, in short, that never gets reported in the official Palestinian media.

One representative was even heard criticising Arafat's autocratic style and complaining that the Palestinian leader had still not signed any of the 132 pieces of legislation and other recommendations voted by the assembly during the previous year.

The most important of these documents is the constitution of Palestine, which sets down the division of powers between the executive and the legislature. Drafted with the help of international constitutional experts, it took months to complete. But for the past seven months it has been lying unsigned on Arafat's desk. But that is something the chairman felt people shouldn't know about.

In mid-May, Kouttab suddenly found his broadcasts being jammed. After making inquiries, he discovered that it was being done by the PBC. Kouttab transmitted his concern to US journalists.

The Washington Post carried a report about the situation on May 20. At 11.30pm that same day, Kouttab was summoned to Ramallah and arrested.

The question is whether television coverage of the Palestinian assembly's proceedings will resume now that Kouttab has been released.

(May 29)

# Chile police seek cult chief

Eduardo Olivares in Santiago

THE CHILEAN police are hot on the tracks of Paul Schaefer, a former Wehrmacht sergeant who is accused of sexually abusing children at a school run by Colonia Dignidad. This "charitable organisation", which is based some 300km south of the capital, Santiago, is widely regarded as harbouring a neo-Nazi cult and has already hit the headlines on several occasions.

During the years when Chile was run by a military dictatorship, its secret police, the Dina, worked hand in hand with members of the cult who, according to a Dina agent, had organised a "horrific system of subcontracting".

Schaefer, who has not been seen for several months and faces 26 charges, is believed to have gone to earth in one of the underground shelters on the Colonia Dignidad estate of more than 13,000 hectares. He settled in Chile in 1961 with some of his followers, after the German authorities had charged him with offences similar to those he faces today.

Schaefer's five lawyers have given up defending him, following his systematic refusal to appear in court. His spokesman, Harmut Hopp, has simply stated that Schaefer would never "place himself in the hands of a police force that is trying to rub him out".

In mid-May, henchmen of the "permanent uncle", as he is known to his followers, beat up a German television crew. The crew was headed by the journalist Gero Gemballa, author of Colonia Dignidad, A German Camp In Chile, which came out 10 years ago. In the book, Gemballa accused Schaefer of sexual abuse and members of his organisation of arms trafficking.

In 1991, Patricio Aylwin's government outlawed the "Colonia Dignidad charitable association". But the cult quickly transferred its assets to various front organisations and Schaefer's friends.

(May 27)

# Washington's dollar diplomacy in Africa

COMMENT
Laurent Zecchini

IN CONTRAST to the Franco-African gatherings that still smack of neocolonialism, the United States is trying to establish strictly practical trade summits with Africa.

This explains the diplomatic pressure that the US is putting, through Bill Richardson, its ambassador to the United Nations, on the Democratic Republic of Congo (formerly Zaire). The political stability of this central African giant is the only way to further the region's future prosperity — and the US's own interests.

The method may be open to question, given the risks the Clinton administration is taking by backing Laurent Kabila, whose dedication to democracy, human rights and free trade is at best doubtful. But the goal is clear: Africa's third largest state is a prime goal of Washington's commercial strategy on the continent.

When the cold war ended and Africa stopped being a theatre of East-West confrontation, US citizens pressured their president to concentrate on domestic issues. This is still a priority, but with communism defeated the US has reverted to its historic vocation — trade. Though it never stopped being a facet of diplomacy, it used to be incidental. Today it has become a central component of foreign policy.

But Washington points out that unlike France's purely mercantile diplomacy, the US is also interested in opening up new markets likely to further political freedoms, democracy and peace. The difference is that Clinton now regards Africa as a "target" like any other. If recent developments in the former Zaire are important, it is because the US belatedly realised that an all-powerful Kabila in Kinshasa was in fact turning into an unpredictable autocrat, who might even be hostile to Washington's commercial designs.

The delegations of investors, especially from the US, who visited the rebel-held zones before Kinshasa fell, eased Washington's concern. Richardson has said he is convinced Kabila is "a practical man who will have to learn the need for a modern and open economy". It is now up to the US emissary to persuade Congo's new master that financial aid will depend on progress made in democracy and economic liberalism. Anxious to safeguard its new relationship, the State Department has therefore merely expressed the hope that the ban on political freedom will be short-lived.

This has become common practice in Washington. As a result of the globalisation of trade, the US cannot afford to ignore an untapped market of 600 to 700 million potential consumers. Clinton put it bluntly: "Our efforts to help Africa develop will create more opportunities for exporting more American goods and services. In future, these efforts will also reduce the cost of the large-scale humanitarian assistance we are providing."

Making savings on foreign aid at a time when balancing the federal budget has become a central concern, protecting itself against the blight of famines and mass movements of refugees, and avoiding costly peace-keeping operations are some of the many reasons for taking part in "saving" Africa.

These considerations were in the minds of senators when the US trade representative, Charlene Barshefsky, recently spelled out before Congress the outlines of a plan designed to "permit a new trade and investment policy for sub-Saharan Africa".

As part of a "partnership", the US is planning to sign free-trade agreements with African countries that have taken measures to reform their economies and to set up a "forum of economic and commercial co-operation" between the US and sub-Saharan Africa.

At the same time, Washington is committed to extending its system of customs preferences to assist the emerging markets. The Overseas Private Investment Council plans to set up two funds to finance infrastructure programmes. The assistant treasury secretary, Lawrence Summers, says the administration has had an "extremely encouraging" response from the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to plans for setting up a strategy of growth for Africa. This will have to be preceded by an easing of the poorest countries' debt burden and commitments from the international community at the Group of Eight summit in Denver on June 20-22.

There is a long way still to go before the partnership with Africa becomes a fact. Trade with Africa amounts to about 1 per cent of US foreign trade, and US investment in Africa is less than 1 per cent of its worldwide investment. As a percentage of its production, France still spends 10 times as much as the US in grants to African countries. Together with Britain, it still has a distinct edge as far as direct investment is concerned.

The US administration's determination, if it is sustained by the dynamism of its industry, cannot be ignored. Rightly or wrongly, the US is betting on Africa producing its own "tigers", and is determined to place its commercial muscle at the service of their growth.

(May 30)

# School violence 'skidding out of control'

**Sandrine Blanchard** and **Béatrice Gurrey** report teachers' growing worries in a rundown area on the outskirts of Paris

ON APRIL 28 a supervisor at the Evariste-Galois secondary school in Sevran, on the outskirts of Paris in the Seine-St-Denis *département*, was taken to hospital after being assaulted by a pupil. The attack was only the latest in a long series of incidents since the beginning of the school year.

On the grounds that "the lack of supervisory personnel constitutes a real threat to the safety of children and adults", the teaching staff voted unanimously in favour of a strike. The teachers and their pupils' parents organised a sit-in, and demanded that the school be classified as a "sensitive school" and given extra staff.

On May 13, when a delegation was about to be received by the local education authority, there were clashes between demonstrators and riot police. Three days later, 400 teachers demonstrated in support of the Evariste-Galois strikers and called for a demonstration to be held in Paris on May 22.

Against a background of mounting disgruntlement, further serious incidents took place in Seine-St-Denis. On May 19, a 15-year-old pupil at a Bondy school was stabbed to death when he refused to hand over his watch to a group of teenagers. On May 22, a pupil at the Maurice-Utrillo high school in Stains-Pierrefitte was beaten with iron bars by teenagers. He was saved when two teachers intervened.

Those events helped to swell the ranks of the 1,500 people who demonstrated on May 22, with the support of most of the teachers' unions. They called for more supervisors, social workers, nurses and educational advisers as well as extra teaching resources. A delegation from Evariste-Galois met education ministry officials and was told that the 1½ full-time-equivalent post that had been left vacant would be filled and the two teachers from the mobile pool kept on until the end of the academic year. It was decided to pursue strike action until the ministry made certain commitments for next year.

The Seine-St-Denis education authority has tried to play down the crisis, while admitting that the situation has worsened in the *département*. "There's always a good deal of tension, and we only survive thanks to co-operation between schools, the courts and the police," says a spokesman.

The authority still pins its faith on the "school violence prevention plan" implemented in 1992, but has few illusions about its effectiveness. According to its latest available figures, violent incidents reported by schools in the *département* rose by 70 per cent between 1995 and 1996.

An authority inspector, Yves Bottin, wrote in a report last December: "School life has been getting disturbingly out of control. Many acts increasingly require us to respond through the courts, in view of their gravity and of their community- or gang-related nature. There has been a sudden change whose repercussions are not always fully realised."

Bottin also stressed that violent behaviour often occurred "without anything leading up to it", and was the work of increasingly young pupils, whose rules were "fixed by the gang or group".

His conclusions are mostly echoed by headteachers. Some have the impression they are "sitting on a powder keg"; others feel that things are "skidding horrifyingly out of control" and dare not imagine how it will all end. Few find any grounds for optimism.

Gérard Matton, successively pupil, teacher and headmaster at a Drancy school, believes the problem is that they are dealing with children who "accumulated handicaps at a very early age".

Isabelle Defrance, headteacher of a secondary school in Bobigny, stresses that the problem has nothing to do with the pupils' intelligence: "Just look how brilliantly they master the workings of the law — when they commit offences they know exactly what sentence to expect."

As for the younger pupils, especially in the 11-12 age bracket, "there is a state of total confusion — they can't tell the difference between playing and fighting, between extortion and borrowing".

A woman teacher says that academic standards and the school climate have both deteriorated steadily over the years that she has worked at Evariste-Galois. "The problems found in the ghettoised housing estates have simply been replicated within the school. We should get the children out of their environment so they can see how things are elsewhere. But you can't even ask parents for a 40-franc [$7] contribution towards the cost of a school trip."

A young woman teacher at the same school is sickened by the way children aged 11 are too scared to go out into the playground. "We have no control over what goes on outside the classroom. Teachers get spat at, roughed up and insulted in corridors. That creates tension during classes," she says.

But teachers are against video cameras being installed in the school or satchels being searched at the entrance. They are also reluctant to talk about their experiences in case their evidence is "exploited by extremists".

"Something has to be done to improve the social conditions in suburban housing estates," says a teacher at the Maurice-Utrillo high school. "We can't go on saying that kids in Seine-St-Denis get the same out of their schools as kids in central Paris.

"We're no sociologists, but we can see how the kids are changing," says another teacher at the same school, who no longer dares ask pupils what their parents do for a living. "They turn violent from the age of 11 on."

At Evariste-Galois, where there has been an increasing number of one-hour stoppages since the beginning of the year to protest against violence, teachers are fed up with hearing pupils say things like: "If we beat up a teacher, it means two hours less classes."

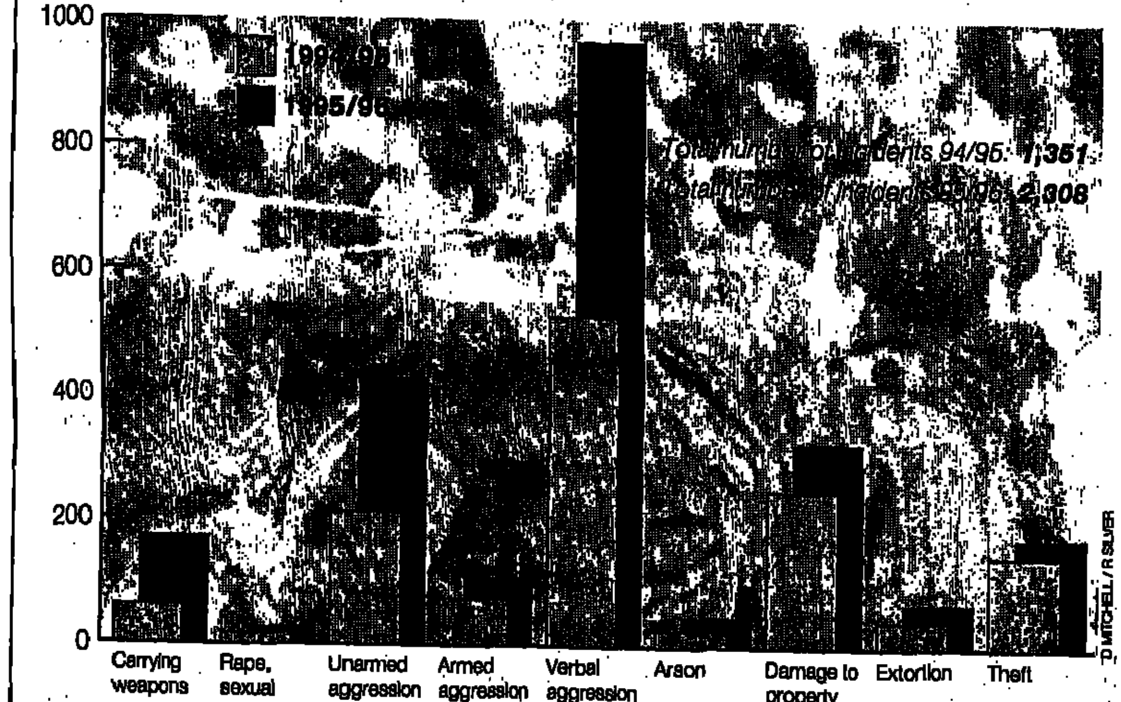
"Yet quite a lot of kids want to work," says a teacher. "But how can you motivate them if everything is going to pieces."

Among the phenomena that teachers see as the cause of the deteriorating situation in schools are "the violence that television conveys to this image-orientated generation", "increasingly acute social problems within families", "the decrepitude of school premises" and "a run-down living environment".

"Everything needs to be changed," says one teacher. "The anti-violence plan implemented by the education ministry in 1996 didn't change anything. It was just hot air. It was merely designed to ease the consciences of those in charge."

(May 24)

### Number of school incidents in Seine-St-Denis




Source: School violence monitoring unit for Seine-St-Denis

# Videos back claims of police brutality

**Nathaniel Herzberg and Laurent Riberolles**

ALLEGATIONS of police violence made last week by several Paris-based voluntary associations have apparently been corroborated by two video cassettes.

The police version of what happened in two separate incidents — the breaking up of a demonstration by illegal immigrants in Saint-Denis on May 14 and the eviction of squatters from a vacant Crédit Lyonnais building in the 16th *arrondissement* of Paris on May 18 — does not square with the evidence on the videos.

The video shot in front of the Stade de France building site, where the illegal immigrants were demonstrating, shows police putting on their riot gear and approaching the demonstrators under the eye of the detective superintendent who had ordered the evacuation.

The riot police are accompanied by several plain-clothes police from Seine-St-Denis anti-crime squads. A group of demonstrators, including some children, quietly leave the premises when requested to do so by police.

Then, as a tall African, El Hadj Moumar Diop (who happens to be the immigrants' spokesman), walks past a policeman without touching him, the latter jabs him violently with a *tonfa*, a Japanese-designed riot baton used by the French police. This unwarranted act is clearly aimed to provoke. The policeman grabs Diop by the arm, then turns threateningly towards the camera to prevent the scene being filmed.

We next see Diop trying to ease himself out of the grip of the policeman, who snaps: "Don't you jostle me!" The cameraman is again pushed away, but manages to film a final scene where Diop is flung face-down on to the ground by several policemen.

Although the clip shows no act of extreme violence, it reveals two things: first, the fact that police are so jumpy in situations like this that they could easily touch off an explosion of violence; and second a disturbing discrepancy with the police version of events.

The complaint against the demonstrators lodged by police officer Mario Fattore and two colleagues made no mention of the initial scuffle. It alleged that a peaceful evacuation was suddenly disrupted by Diop's violent behaviour.

Did Diop really aim three punches and a head-butt at Fattore, as was claimed in court? During the hearing, three witnesses contradicted the policeman's version. Diop admits that he struggled, but only at a much later stage, after he was twice beaten up by police.

The video does not provide conclusive evidence either way. Other footage shot during the incident might have done so, but it has been seized by police.

Police have been unable, however, to confiscate some telling pictures of the evacuation of the Crédit Lyonnais building. One clip, shot by a France 2 TV crew, clearly shows a group of people belonging to the Droit au Logement movement (which encourages the occupation of vacant buildings by the homeless) standing in front of the gate. They have their hands in the air and are using their bodies to stop the police entering. When the police start hitting them with truncheons the demonstrators scream insults and try to shield themselves, but they do not fight back.

The second sequence is even more edifying. Shot by an amateur for a full 20 minutes, it shows the complete standoff between police and demonstrators. The police later accused three demonstrators of having used a 3.5-metre-long metal bar to push them back, injuring one officer in the shin.

The "weapon" concerned has been placed under seals by police, but has not been tested for fingerprints. The video shows no metal bar and no blows being aimed at officers. What it does describe, however, is demonstrators being hit several times. One of them is shown collapsing unconscious, his face covered with blood. The scenes are so violent that at one point a plain-clothes officer steps in to calm his colleagues.

All too often the word of a demonstrator carries little weight against that of a police officer. But in this case sworn statements by police have been contradicted by filmed evidence. Diop, who has since been given a four-month jail sentence and served with a 10-year exclusion order, is now thinking of suing the police for perjury.

(May 25-26)

Le Monde
Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani




The Washington Post



# Albright Sharply Rebukes Balkan Leaders

**Michael Dobbs in Belgrade**

DIPLOMATS have many ways of making their displeasure felt, ranging from subtle body language to more formal protests. But rarely do they go to the lengths that Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright did last weekend, publicly humiliating a Croatian government minister and accusing the Serbian president of "stonewalling."

"You should be ashamed of yourself," Albright told Jure Ganic, the Croatian reconstruction minister, after listening to a harrowing tale of returning Serb refugees who were beaten and driven from their homes last month by a vengeful Croatian mob. "How can you allow such things to happen?"

Later, Albright told Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic that his country was at a political "crossroads." If it wants to rebuild its economy and rejoin the international community, it has to introduce democratic reforms and cooperate with the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia in The Hague, she said. The alternative was to be "left behind" while the rest of Europe moved forward.

"The people of Serbia are suffering because their leader is not fulfilling his obligations," Albright told reporters after her one-hour meeting with Milosevic, who is widely regarded as one of the architects of the three-year war in Bosnia.

Albright's strong language, during her first visit to the Balkans as secretary of state, was part of a new U.S. strategy — an attempt to step up public pressure on the signatories of the 1995 Dayton peace accord to abide by their commitments. Over the past few months, Western governments have become frustrated by the seeming impunity enjoyed by indicted Bosnian war criminals and delays in repatriating hundreds of thousands of refugees.

Albright's two-day Balkan tour began on a confrontational note with what U.S. officials described as a particularly tough meeting in Zagreb, the Croatian capital, with President Franjo Tudjman, whom Washington has viewed until recently as a strategic partner for the United States in resisting Serbian aggression. State Department officials said Albright warned Tudjman that she might act to block millions of dollars in international aid unless Croatia meets its obligations under the Dayton pact.

At a joint news conference, Albright called on Tudjman to display "moral leadership" and make it possible for Croatia's 600,000 Serbs, who fled in advance of a Croatian military offensive in July 1995, to return to their homes. So far, only a few thousand have returned, in the face of numerous bureaucratic and other obstacles erected by the Croatian authorities. Some of the returnees have since been driven from their homes.

Albright sought to dramatize the refugee problem by visiting the Croatian region of Krajina, which was inhabited for centuries by Serbs and was the scene of an ultimately unsuccessful Serb rebellion against Croatian rule between 1991 and 1995. Arriving in the region by helicopter with a large entourage of journalists Albright dropped in on two refugee families that fled Croatia in 1995 and were beaten when they tried to return two weeks ago.

When Ganic, the Croatian reconstruction minister, suggested that the Serbs had provoked the violence, Albright accused him of "lying" and turned her back on him. Later, she dressed him down before dozens of journalists assembled in front of a carefully selected backdrop: a burned-out house. She said she was "disgusted" by the failure of the Croatian authorities to stop the recent wave of violence.

The village that Albright visited, Prevrsac, is now inhabited almost exclusively by Croat refugees from neighboring Bosnia who were themselves driven from their homes by Serbs. They reacted to her sudden appearance from the sky in a convoy of U.S. Army helicopters with shrugs and insisted they would continue to oppose the return of Serb refugees.

"Albright is trying to build a reputation for herself at our expense," said Zdenko Meric, a Bosnian Croat who has occupied an abandoned Serb home in Prevrsac since 1995. "Where was she in 1991, when the Serbs attacked us?"

During the news conference, Tudjman condemned the recent violence in Krajina and promised to permit Serbs to return to their homes, provided they follow the necessary bureaucratic procedures. At the same time, he identified the victims of the beatings and house burnings as "members of this very same Serb community that was guilty of burning down 143,000 Croatian homes plus churches and schools" prior to 1995.

Moving on to Belgrade, Albright met with Milosevic, who was the target of several months of democracy demonstrations after elections last November. This was followed by meetings with leaders of the opposition coalition known as Together and an announcement of an increase in U.S. assistance to independent Serbian media outlets to about $5 million a year.

State Department spokesman Nicholas Burns later suggested that Albright had emerged empty-handed from her talks with Milosevic, saying that she had gotten "no encouragement on any subject" from the Serbian leader. Albright described her meeting with Milosevic as "probably the toughest" she has had with any foreign official since becoming secretary of state in January.

By turning up the level of American rhetoric, Albright is seeking to apply additional pressure to Balkan leaders who so far have implemented the Dayton peace agreement selectively. But she is also laying down political markers that could come back to haunt the Clinton administration over the coming months unless there is significant progress on the return of refugees and cooperation with the international war crimes tribunal.

Albright gives a statement after the meeting with Croatia's President Tudjman PHOTOGRAPH LANA SUVAR

# Time to End Continuing Nuclear Peril

EDITORIAL

BORIS YELTSIN has made another flub in talking about nuclear weapons, saying he would remove nuclear warheads from missiles aimed at NATO members. He meant he would retarget. Some of this already has been done by Americans as well as Russians, and President Clinton himself has boasted of it. But it's mainly for show, since the weapons remain armed with warheads and on alert, meaning they can be fired in minutes, and they can be instantly retargeted. The world's two greatest nuclear powers have to do better.

Just how much better is indicated by experts James Goodby and Harold Feiveson in a new Stanford University paper introduced by former secretary of state George Shultz and former defense secretary William Perry. Shultz served during the Reagan Bush-Gorbachev arms control heyday of 1986-92. In Perry's later time, the advent of democratic politics in Russia, among other things, slowed new negotiations; it still does. This paper, "Ending the Threat of Nuclear Attack," lights a path back.

The Cold War rhetoric is gone. But the Cold War nuclear "posture" endures. The paper says that right now, before detected incoming missiles could arrive, the United States could launch 2,700 strategic warheads and Russia 2,100 under the standard "use-them-or-lose-them" doctrine applying to high-value vulnerable targets. The authors believe deep cuts are essential, down from the thousands to the hundreds. It also will be necessary to shift weapons away from rapid launch.

Yeltsin must to commit more of his political chips to ensuring Duma ratification of the START II strategic arms reduction treaty. To help, the paper advises, Washington must review its policy of hedging against a later Russian missile buildup by staying capable of deploying an even larger American strategic force. "In the short term, the hedging policy jeopardizes Start II and heightens risks of miscalculation and safety. In the longer run, it increases the chances of a renewed arms race between the United States and Russia if political relationships worsen."

Meanwhile, the United States must deepen its cooperation with Moscow on securing Russian weapons and fissile material now at risk of theft and seizure.

This is an ambitious agenda that would tax politicians and bureaucrats in both countries. But a lesser effort, the Stanford paper warns, risks being overtaken by a tragic launching or a dangerous buildup and encourages proliferation elsewhere. Clinton has no more essential task than working with Yeltsin to sharpen their common focus on what is, despite the soothing atmosphere, a continuing peril.

# China 'Sold Cruise Missiles to Iran'

**Thomas W. Lippman**

THE STATE Department has informed Congress that the Chinese government has sold to Iran cruise missiles that enhance Iran's ability to disrupt Persian Gulf shipping and challenge U.S. forces there.

The information is contained in an unclassified 25-page set of responses to questions presented to Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright in February by Rep. Gerald B.H. Solomon, R-New York.

For the most part, the cautiously worded document does little more than confirm what has been widely reported about China's weapons sales to Iran and Iran's efforts to develop ballistic missiles and chemical and biological weapons. The report was designed to produce as little news as possible, according to a State Department official who participated in preparing it.

Nevertheless, congressional Republican staff members welcomed it as another weapon to use in their effort to bludgeon the Clinton administration into imposing new sanctions on China and to influence the upcoming vote on extension of China's preferential U.S. trade status.

The report says it is "a matter of public record that China has transferred a number of C-802 ship-based anti-ship cruise missiles to Iran ..."

Asked about Navy intelligence reports that China has also supplied Iran with a land-based version of the C-802, which would be harder to detect, Albright's response paper says that China "has advertised" a land-based missile but declined to go further in an unclassified paper. Congressional Republican analysts said they took that as confirmation.

The issue of Chinese weapons sales to Iran has long hung over relations between Washington and Beijing. With Chinese President Jiang Zemin due to make a state visit to Washington later this year, the Clinton administration has sought to improve relations, not sour them with confrontations over arms sales.

Two weeks ago, the administration imposed economic sanctions on two Chinese companies found by U.S. intelligence analysts to have sold Iran chemicals and chemical processing technology that enhanced Tehran's effort to develop nerve gas weapons. But those companies are privately owned, and the State Department said it had "no evidence" that the Chinese government was involved.

The missile sales are a different story, according to Albright's answers to Solomon. A "ministry-level corporation" known as China Precision Machinery Import-Export Corporation, or CPMIEC, is the "logical originator" of the missile sales, the paper said, CPMIEC is the same company sanctioned twice previously by the United States for supplying M-11 missiles to Pakistan.

The cruise missiles sold to Iran are clearly do not meet the sanctions threshold of the missile control agreement, U.S. officials said. But Republican analysts said they should trigger sanctions under a U.S. law aimed at blocking sales that destabilize countries or regions.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
June 8 1997

# Court Allows Lawsuit Against Clinton

Joan Biskupic

A UNANIMOUS Supreme Court ruled last week that Paula Corbin Jones can move forward with her sexual-harassment lawsuit against President Clinton. The court's forceful decision rejected Clinton's argument that sitting presidents should have legal immunity from allegations involving their personal conduct.

The ruling not only has historic consequences for the institution of the presidency, it also could have a bruising political effect on Clinton: He now can be required to answer potentially embarrassing questions about Jones' claim that he propositioned her and exposed himself to her in a Little Rock hotel room while he was governor of Arkansas and she was a low-level state employee. From the start, Clinton has denied any wrongdoing.

Although the ruling means that the lawsuit against Clinton must proceed, it left room for legal maneuvers that could continue to delay the case. Indeed, the court invited the trial judge who would eventually hear the dispute to consider any specific showing by Clinton of the potential harm that may occur if he has to tend to a trial.

The ruling nonetheless eliminated what Clinton's lawyers thought would be their best tactic — the argument that the nation's chief executive has a job so demanding that he should be protected from civil lawsuits until leaving office. To make their case, they relied chiefly on an earlier court decision that said presidents are immune from lawsuits for their official actions, contending therefore that a president should have temporary immunity from lawsuits involving personal conduct as well.

The court spurned Clinton's contention that he should not have to defend himself against Jones until 2001, finding that nothing in the Constitution allows a sitting president to postpone a private civil damages lawsuit. The court said it is unlikely the case would burden Clinton's time. And without commenting on the merits of Jones' case or whether Clinton is liable, the court said Jones is entitled to her day in court.

"Like every other citizen . . . [Jones] has a right to an orderly disposition of her claims," wrote Justice John Paul Stevens, in an opinion that, while voicing respect for the office of the president, nonetheless reduced Clinton to an ordinary citizen who should not stand above the law.

The unanimity of the decision was a surprise, given that the justices seemed torn on the issue during oral arguments on the case last January, with some appearing quite sympathetic to Clinton. Also unpredictable was that Stevens, among the most liberal of the justices, would write the firm opinion against the president and be joined by the two Clinton appointees on the court, Justices Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Stephen G. Breyer.

At bottom, the court rejected Clinton's two key arguments, first that constitutional immunity for a president's official actions extends to his unofficial conduct, and second that the separation-of-powers doctrine, which ensures that none of the three branches of government infringes on another, forbids a trial judge from forcing a sitting president to defend himself in a lawsuit.

The court, however, said the trial judge should consider specific arguments by the president about why he might need to occasionally postpone his part in the legal proceedings.

That means that, while Clinton cannot get the kind of unconditional years-long delay he sought, he may still be able to win short but continual postponements in the proceedings.

The high court declined to rule on whether a judge may force the president to physically show up in court at a specific time: "We assume that the testimony of the president, both for discovery and for use at trial, may be taken at the White House at a time that will accommodate his busy schedule," the justices said.

While the decision may put pressure on Clinton to settle the case with Jones, an outcome her attorneys suggested they would be open to, the president's lawyer balked at the suggestion.

"The likelihood of a settlement is most unlikely because the president did nothing wrong," Clinton's personal lawyer, Robert S. Bennett, said in an interview with CNN. Bennett also said he is confident the case will be resolved in the president's favor, and suggested he will file additional motions challenging Jones' contentions and asking that the case be thrown out on other legal grounds.

David Strauss, a University of Chicago law professor who with Bennett is defending Clinton in the case, said in an interview that the president may still argue that the lawsuit cannot proceed immediately. A trial would have "to be paced in a way that would accommodate the important duties of the president," Strauss said. "I can easily envision the president being preoccupied for long periods of time, months."

Jones said in a statement that she was happy with the court decision and "pleased that I will have my day in court." Her lawyer, Gilbert Davis, said the ruling in Clinton v. Jones means "Every public official remains accountable for their personal private conduct including the president of the United States."

Jones, who is seeking $700,000 in damages, filed her lawsuit in May 1994 in federal district court in Arkansas, alleging that Clinton engaged in sexual harassment and assault, conspired with a state trooper to entice her into a sexual liaison, and defamed her character in subsequent remarks to the media.




# East Timor Envoy Finds Doors Closed

Thomas W. Lippman

WINNING the Nobel Peace Prize has opened doors for Jose Ramos-Horta all across Europe and boosted his lecture fees, he said last week, but it has not helped him obtain a high-level appointment at the White House.

One member of the National Security Council staff was authorized to talk to him by telephone, he said, adding, "I told him it was the diplomatic equivalent of safe sex."

Ramos-Horta is an exile from East Timor, the former Portuguese colony that was invaded and annexed by Indonesia after Portugal gave it up in 1975. Based in Sydney, Australia, he travels the world making the case for self-determination for the East Timorese, Catholics who have long resisted the rule of Muslim Indonesia.

Last year he and East Timor's spiritual leader, Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, who has stayed in East Timor, received the Nobel Peace Prize for their work in calling attention to the plight of the region's 800,000 people.

"President Clinton is knowledgeable and sensitive about East Timor," Ramos-Horta said. He recalled that East Timorese students demonstrated at the U.S. embassy in Jakarta during Clinton's visit to Indonesia in 1994, and said Clinton's response was sympathetic.

But Ramos-Horta's quest for a high-level White House reception, during a previous visit to Washington in March and on his current trip, has presented the White House with an uncomfortable choice. Clinton has drawn criticism from some commentators for granting White House access to big-spending Indonesian campaign contributors while denying it to Ramos-Horta, but administration officials said the issue goes beyond Clinton's desire to maintain good relations with an important Asian economic power.

Ramos-Horta is not like the Dalai Lama, the spiritual leader of Tibet's Buddhists who has been welcomed at the White House over Chinese objections, administration officials said. The East Timorese is a political activist who in the past has been associated with groups promoting violence, one official said, and "there is some question whether he has been sufficiently sanitized by the Nobel Prize."

Belo, the co-winner of the prize, is a religious figure who lives among his people and would be a more acceptable figure for high-level administration attention, U.S. officials said.

Ramos-Horta wanted a meeting with Clinton or a Cabinet-level official on his current visit, administration officials said. But even if the president were so inclined it was not going to happen because Clinton, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott are all out of the country.

"I'll come back," Ramos-Horta said wryly. "I'll accommodate their schedules."



# Keeping a One-Track Mind on Sex

COMMENT
Ellen Goodman

I HAVE always had a soft spot for the folks who preach abstinence. For one thing, I like their rap lines. You know, "Pet Your Dog, Not Your Date." "Do the Right Thing, Wait for the Ring."

Then, too, they were also the ones who came up with the idea of "Secondary Virginity," which is a kind of biological annulment. This prompted a young lawyer in my family to ask, "Can you have a third or a fourth virginity? Or is it two strikes and you're out?"

In any case, I can happily agree with the rightest wing of this movement in lamenting the number of kids who start having sex far too young and far too unhappily with far too many consequences. Do teens need help saying no when all the messages around them, from media to partners, are saying yes, yes, yes? Do they need adults to talk with them about waiting? Sure.

Why then do I find myself queasy when the government offers to pass out some $50 million a year for educational programs that will teach abstinence only? Try the word "only." In one of those after-hours maneuvers for which Washington is famous, a provision offering money for abstinence-only programs was snuck into last year's welfare reform bill.

The logic that welded abstinence to welfare was that unwed teen moms often end up on Aid to Families with Dependent Children. No sex, no teen moms. Ergo no welfare. Teach kids abstinence and nothing but abstinence.

Under the guidelines, any approved government program must have "as its *exclusive* purpose, teaching the social, psychological and health gains to be realized by abstaining from sexual activity." Exactly which sexual "activity" to be avoided — masturbation? French-kissing? — remains undefined.

But the guidelines do clearly say that kids must be taught that sex is only for marriage. Despite the fact that 90 percent of Americans — including parents and members of Congress — had their first sex outside of marriage, abstinence-only teaches that married intercourse is "the expected standard of human sexual activity."

To get government money, a program must even teach that unmarried sex is "likely to have harmful psychological and physical effects." If that sounds like legislated fear-mongering, a recent California study of abstinence programs bears it out.

In one "educational" video, a student asks what happens if he wants to have sex before marriage. The instructor answers, "Well, I guess you'll just have to be prepared to die."

If the idea of federally funded disinformation is troubling enough, the lack of information is worse. Under these guidelines, abstinence-only programs can't teach about contraception. Nor talk openly and frankly about those banned "sexual activities." This "education" is monosyllabic.

I agree that abstinence should have a strong role in a comprehensive program. But this is all-or-nothing money, meant to replace any other programs, not enrich them with, say, an abstinence unit. The states have to find $3 for every $4 they get from Washington. And there's no reliable evidence the current abstinence-only programs reduce sexual activity.

Today we know a fair amount about kids who have early, too early, intercourse. They're likely to be physically mature, to come from poor single-parent families. The kids who delay sex tend to have mentors, to read and write better, to have fewer stereotypes about sex roles, to be busy and connected. I still think the best abstinence program is an after-school program.

But now the states have until mid-July to decide whether to ask for this hush money. Debra Haffner of SIECUS, the Sex Information and Education Council of the United States, says, "We are giving states the same advice we are giving teens. Abstain, and if you are not going to abstain, act responsibly."

So far, all but half a dozen states have caved to peer group pressure. Some states like Maine want to use the money for a media campaign. Others say they'll use it to teach just the youngest kids. Still others are trying to find a creative end run around the restrictions. But even those states will have to take money from another pot.

Money, especially federal money, can be awfully seductive. It's hard to just say no to government dollars. But this is one time when states should practice abstinence — and not preach it.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
June 8 1997



# Cost of Economic Equality Questioned

Kevin Sullivan in Sata

SHIORI NAGAYOSHI played a lovely piece of classical music on the piano next to the big-screen TV in her family's small living room. Her in-line skates and her $250 Nike sneakers — a must-have item for a fashion-conscious 12-year-old in Japan these days — were stashed by the door.

During the day, Shiori attends a brand-new junior high school, right next to the town's new $16 million community hall. She studies English on CD-ROMs in the school's state-of-the-art computer lab, and she listens to her favorite Japanese pop music on a CD player in her room at night.

And this is just about the poorest place in Japan.

This farming and fishing town at the southern tip of the main island of Japan has one of the lowest per-capita incomes in the nation. In the island prefecture of Okinawa and in some other extremely remote islands, the figures are even lower. But Sata is near rock bottom on the main island, although you'd never know it from the comfortable life in the Nagayoshi family farmhouse, or in virtually any other house in this hilly seaside town.

U.S. leaders constantly struggle with the vast and divisive income gap between the United States' wealthiest and poorest citizens. The rich are getting richer and the poor are sinking deeper into poverty in what former labor secretary Robert B. Reich called a "chasm of inequality." The trend is a global one, with the United Nations reporting that the incomes of the richest 20 percent around the world grew three times faster than the incomes of the poorest 20 percent from 1960 to 1990.

But Japan has virtually no such income gap, and that is no accident. Almost all personal wealth was destroyed in World War II, leaving Japan's aristocrats and peasant farmers alike struggling for the same food scraps in the bombed-out ruins. From that starting point, Japan set out to rebuild itself as a land where everyone was equal. The national government established an aggressive system of taxing the wealthy and subsidizing the poor, hoping to create a society where everyone was comfortably in the middle.

Astonishingly, that vision largely has come true. Only 2 percent of Japanese households have incomes of less than $16,000 a year, and only 2 percent have annual incomes topping $160,000. The vast majority are in the middle; Just over half of Japanese households earn between $35,000 and $75,000 a year.

Japan's average per-capita income last year was $31,886. The richest place in the country was Tokyo, where the average per-capita income was $35,200, and one of the poorest was Sata with an average per-capita income of $19,240 — a relatively modest span between wealthy and needy.

"Modern Japan is almost neurotic in pursuing economic equality and has achieved it to a degree not achieved anywhere else," said Taichi Sakaiya, a prominent author and commentator on Japanese society, in his book What Is Japan?

The effect of Japan's relatively narrow income gap can be seen here in ways large and small. Only 1 percent of the population is on welfare. Public schools in every part of the country look alike, because the government guarantees parity right down to the books in the library. Japan has a 99.9 percent literacy rate.

Corporate titans have relatively modest incomes, resulting from an effort to prevent a gigantic divide between entry-level workers and the company president. Many American chief executives are paid millions. But, according to a recent study here, the average chief executive at companies including Toyota and Honda earns about $300,000 a year.

The parity is obvious in almost any neighborhood in Tokyo. There are no equivalents here of exclusive Beverly Hills or desperate Bronx slums. One branch of Japan's richest family, the Tsutsumis, lives in a fabulous walled compound in the Hiroo neighborhood of Tokyo. A few doors down, a working-class family sells cucumbers, tomatoes and milk from the door of their one-room house.

Japan does not have the permanent underclass that exists in the United States. Only 1 percent of births are to unwed mothers, drug addiction is rare, and families feel a strong obligation to provide for their own. The government's welfare system is a nearly foolproof safety net for the few who do fall between the cracks. Partly because few people are abandoned by family and society, Japan has one of the world's lowest crime rates.

"Japan is more of a semi-socialist society than a capitalist country," concludes economic analyst Kimindo Kusaka.

But the question now facing Japan is, can it, and should it, continue paying the price to maintain the equality it has built in the last 50 years? Already, economists say, the gap between rich and poor has widened slightly in recent years. And many argue that, if it is to jump-start its stagnating economy and remain competitive, Japan will have to adopt reforms that will create an income gap more like that of other rich trading nations.


Field of dreams: Japan has virtually no income gap as a result of a system that taxes the rich and subsidizes the poor PHOTO FINANCIAL TIMES

"The smallness of the gap is a good thing, but it is being maintained at big expense," said Iwao Matsuda, a lawmaker in the opposition New Frontier Party, noting that many people are fed up with sky-high income and corporate taxes that are used to prop up poorer citizens.

Matsuda and many other critics argue that Japan no longer can afford lavish subsidies. In order to stay competitive in the world, Japan must scale back its massive central government, deregulate its economy and loosen the government grip on life here to allow market forces to work more freely, they say.

Matsuda said that means the government cannot continue to subsidize the poor through a 50 percent income tax on wealthy citizens or a 37.5 percent corporate income tax. They say Japan's 70 percent tax on inherited wealth also must go because it represents outdated and excessive government interference. That tax raises a bundle for the government, but it also forces families to sell their homes to pay the tax man when their parents die.

Many economists think Japan uses pork-barrel projects as a crutch. The massive amounts of money the government spends on public works and construction keep many people working. But many observers say that money would be better spent on new industries, factories or other investments that would generate income and far greater numbers of jobs.

"It's wasteful; that spending doesn't improve the efficiency of the economy," said R. Taggart Murphy, an American financial analyst.

Already, there are signs of cracks in Japan's system of wealth distribution, mainly due to fundamental demographic and societal changes underway here. Japan is rapidly becoming the world's oldest society, and all those elderly people need expensive medical care that is putting a huge strain on the national health insurance system.

The Japanese government does not have the cash it did in the "bubble economy" days that ended five years ago. The government is grappling with huge debts rung up by banks during the "bubble" days, and for the first time it is allowing banks and credit unions to fail. The national railroad is billions of dollars in the red.

A small but increasingly visible number of homeless people live in cardboard boxes on the streets, in subway stations and some neighborhood parks. Beggars and bankruptcies, until recently viewed here as an American problem, are becoming more common.

Taken together, they mean Japan has less money for education grants, agricultural subsidies, public works projects and other programs designed to even out the distribution of wealth between cities and rural areas.

Just as important, the political landscape has changed. For almost 40 years, the Liberal Democratic Party held single-party rule in Tokyo, so it had virtually unlimited control over the national budget. That enabled the party to act as Japan's Robin Hood, collecting tax revenues from wealthy urban areas and distributing them to the poorer rural areas. In return, vote-rich agricultural Japan showed its gratitude with decades of support for the party's politicians.

But the equation has changed: The Liberal Democratic Party is still in control, but it no longer has a one-party lock on power. It shares power with several smaller parties, and the buzzword in Tokyo these days is reform: smaller government, less regulation, a more nimble economy where market forces are allowed to work.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY
June 8 1997

# Compassion in December

**Jonathan Yardley**

THE ACTUAL
By Saul Bellow
Viking. 104pp. $17.95

SAUL BELLOW, now in his early eighties, has reached what Harry Trellman, the narrator of The Actual, calls "'the final years,' as biographers refer to them."

This Trellman characterizes as "a period of 'mature' acceptance, reconciliation, 'openhandedness,' general amnesty." That is an apt, and surely deliberate, description of the mood that dominates Bellow's fiction of recent years. The edginess and crankiness of The Dean's December and Mr. Sammler's Planet are still in evidence, but the overall mood is more receptive to our individual and collective shortcomings, slower to ridicule and quicker to tolerate.

The Actual is a novella: a mere 104 pages, and those amply airfilled. Yet there is little about it that is slight or perfunctory. Whether at the great length of The Adventures Of Augie March or at the brevity to be found here, Bellow is still Bellow. His powers of observation are as acute as ever, and his wit as penetrating. If there is a slight softness in the final pages of The Actual, it is both forgivably Decembral and unexpectedly appealing.

Harry Trellman, in his mid-fifties, is a strange man, aloof from his fellow human beings yet sharply sensitive to their inner lives. He is a Chicagoan who has roamed much of the world but who has been drawn back home by "unfinished emotional business," his unresolved relationship with Amy Wustrin, twice married but still, in Harry's mind, the girl he loved long ago:

"Love object would be the commonest convenient term to indicate what Amy became to me. But where does that leave one? Suppose, instead of 'love object,' you were to say 'door' — what sort of door? Does it have a knob; is it old or new, smooth or battered; does it lead anywhere? Half a century of feeling is invested in her, of fantasy, speculation, and absorption, of imaginary conversation. After forty years of concentrated imagining, I feel able to picture her at any moment of any given day."

Harry reconnects with Amy through an unlikely intermediary, Sigmund Adletsky, "the founding colossus" who created an empire of "the hotels, the airlines, the mines, the electronics laboratories." The two meet at a dinner party. Adletsky senses that Harry is "a first-class noticer" and enlists him as "part of his brain trust," someone to whom he can turn when matters of the human heart and mind are troubling him.

Adletsky and his wife are at the same time negotiating to buy a lavish apartment with an incomparable view of Lake Michigan, a transaction in which they have enlisted Amy, an interior decorator. The people with whom they intend to make the deal, Bodo and Madge Helsinger, are callow and rapacious.

"These were all commonplace persons. I would never have let them think so, but it's time to admit that I looked down on them. They were lacking in higher motives. They were run-of-the-mill products of our mass democracy, with no distinctive contribution to make to the history of the species, satisfied to pile up money or seduce women, to copulate, thrive in the sack as the degenerate children of Eros, male but not manly, and living, the men and women alike, on threadbare ideas, without the slightest independence of spirit — privileged in the way of money and goods, the beneficiaries of man's conquest of nature as the Enlightenment foresaw it and of the high-tech achievements that have transformed the material world. Individually and personally, we are unequal to the scope of these collective achievements."

Yet old Adletsky has a surprise for Harry. Having been tutored by Harry in the workings of the heart, he senses that all is not well in Harry's own inner soul. "He had guessed something about my feelings," and at age 92 "was pioneering in compassion, a new field for him." He arranges to bring Harry and Amy together at a bizarre occasion — itself a quintessential Bellow invention — and no doubt smiles down from his great height as, after all these years, the connection is at last made.

When one considers Bellow's advanced age, and considers as well the tendency of American writers and artists to flame out at an early age, it is tempting to paraphrase Dr. Johnson and say of his late fiction simply that one is surprised to find it done at all. But nothing could be more off the point. The truth is that Bellow writes now with as much authority and energy as he did nearly half a century ago when, in the guise of Augie March, he set out to discover America and himself. He is our great living writer, and as The Actual makes plain, he isn't about to forfeit that distinction.

# Arms and the Woman

**John Keegan**

BLOOD RITES
Origins and History
Of the Passions of War
By Barbara Ehrenreich
Metropolitan. 292pp. $25

THERE IS an odd but significant split in the culture of the English-speaking world. Feminism is important in the United States of America, not so in Britain or its old white dominions. Germaine Greer, an Australian, undermines that argument; I think it nevertheless to be true and I think I know why. The United States rejected the aristocratic principle in the 18th century and adopted the work ethic in the 19th. Britain and its cultural region preserved the aristocratic principle and have never really taken the work ethic to heart.

As a result, women may rise to the highest place in British society — Elizabeth II is the exemplar of that point — and work does not define social position. Because aristocratic women can enjoy admiration and deference, other women who take the trouble to seek high place — Margaret Thatcher is the exemplar — have an easier ride than they ever would in the United States.

Some of the deference British men give to the Queen without thought was transferred, without the least difficulty, to Margaret Thatcher during her premiership. She became, in a way, a commoner queen, revered and obeyed because she personified the qualities of a sovereign, exacting from men through her use of feminine qualities a loyalty even greater than they would have to a masculine equivalent.

The Falklands war was the test. Margaret Thatcher's personal decision to make the invasion of the islands an issue and to back her military commanders to the hilt until victory was achieved elevated her to a position not enjoyed by any English-speaking woman since Elizabeth I. Her generals and admirals came to regard her as a new Boadicea, a true war leader and more of a man than most men were.

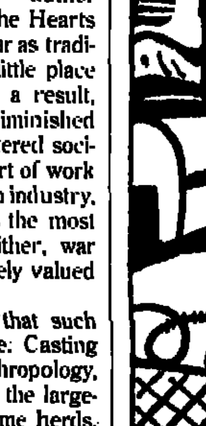
The ambiguous relationship between women and war is at the heart of this interesting and original book. Barbara Ehrenreich — author of Fear Of Falling and The Hearts Of Men — accepts that war as traditionally practiced makes little place for women and that, as a result, women's role has been diminished in almost every work-centered society. War has become a sort of work since agriculture, and then industry, came to dominate life; as the most exciting alternative to either, war has been disproportionately valued as an activity.

She argues, however, that such was not always the case. Casting back into historical anthropology, she suggests that, before the large-scale reduction of big-game herds, hunting was a both-sex activity, in which the goddess role of woman defined and inspired the campaign against the large and dangerous animal as a source of food. Only after the extinction of the huge herds did hunting become necessarily skillful stalking, therefore a masculine activity from which the child-minding opposite sex was excluded and so, by extension, a competition between male hunting bands from which human warfare sprang.

It is a large step from the all-male hunting band to the U.S. Marine Corps. Barbara Ehrenreich plots the path, nevertheless, both passionately and persuasively.

Encouragingly, the author does not take her feminism to the point of arguing that, because modern weapons do not require strength for their operation, women should now be readmitted to an equal place in the use of violence. She seems to accept that war has undergone so many transformations since its prehistoric starting point that it is now an occupation unsuitable not only for women but also for men. It has become, she suggests, "something other than human, an abstract system that is 'alive' in some formal sense."

Political scientists will particularly dislike that observation. It opposes all their beliefs in the usefulness of war as a rational activity. I reluctantly accept war as useful, but have long abandoned any belief that its nature is rational. Aristocratic women, who use their femininity to bend warriors to their will, have never thought otherwise. In a tossup between them and the feminists, I am on the feminists' side.



# Devices and Desires

**David Guy**

LOS ALAMOS
By Joseph Kanon
Broadway. 403pp. $25

THERE IS a moment roughly a fourth of the way into Los Alamos that raises it from the status of a thriller to that of a serious novel with profound implications. Michael Connolly, a former newspaperman now working for the Office of War Information, is visiting the top-secret site where a gathering of crack scientists are developing the first atomic bomb. Their work on the project is extremely intense, and some evenings they relax by getting together to play music.

But on this particular evening, a few of them have gathered to look at a Life magazine photo spread on Nazi concentration camps and are devastated by what they see. "They killed everybody," one of them says. "It's too late, don't you see? All this work. We're too late now."

One of the ironies of the Manhattan Project was that many of the scientists were themselves German, and were trying to stop the madman who had taken over their country. But Germany surrendered before the bomb was ready, so they lost their justification. "If there are Nazis we don't have these inconvenient moral questions," one of them says. "But what shall we do with this bomb if there are no Nazis?"

Connolly has arrived at Los Alamos to investigate a murder. In nearby Santa Fe, a man was found bludgeoned to death in the bushes of a public park, his pants down around his knees. The circumstances suggest a gay subplot, and normally the police would have handled things themselves. But the victim, Karl Bruner, was a member of the security forces at Los Alamos, and the fact that he might have been gay raises serious security questions there. To say nothing of the fact that he was murdered.

Connolly has never been a cop and isn't even a member of the security forces. But it is necessary to find someone who can mix with the specialized group working on the project. One suspects that first novelist Joseph Kanon, who worked for years as a publishing executive before trying his hand at fiction, just wanted a literate protagonist, and Connolly's point of view is one of the novel's real strengths. Kanon writes with the sure hand of a veteran and does a marvelous job of portraying the various personalities involved, particularly the man at the center of everything, Robert Oppenheimer. He is brilliant, charming, charismatic, and absolutely single-minded in his determination to get the "gadget" built before the enemy does.

Also fascinating is a married woman with whom Connolly has an affair, Emma Pawlowski. She gives us some idea what life might have been like for wives on "the Hill." Emma is a brainy, sophisticated woman with a withering sense of humor who has far too much vitality to waste on a husband who does nothing but work.

There are weaknesses. For one thing, the investigation moves at a snail's pace; Connolly may have a hot love affair going, but he's got to take a break now and then to do some work. There are also far too many red herrings; it isn't until we are halfway into the novel that we stumble across a plot that counts. The problem isn't that someone is gay. It is — as we might have suspected — that various people are, or have been, communists.

For all my quibbles, I sat down halfway through the book and wrote down who had to have committed the murder and for what reason, and I was wrong on both counts. Not even close. And the book's denouement, where Connolly goes off to trip the hand of the murderer, is genuinely thrilling.

Until then, I would have said Kanon was a historical novelist *manqué*, who should have given us a straightforward novel about the Manhattan Project. Actually, he has the talent to be any kind of writer he wants. He just needs to remember that, when he's writing thrillers, the plot comes first.



GUARDIAN WEEKLY
June 8 1997



## In Brief

AT&T and SBC Communications, two of the world's largest telecommunications companies, are contemplating a $50 billion merger that would be the biggest deal in US history.

ASIL NADIR transferred his business operations from Northern Cyprus to Turkey and challenged Britain to hold a public inquiry into the collapse of his Polly Peck companies.

EUROPEAN Commissioner Sir Leon Brittan angered Scottish salmon producers with a deal they fear will allow Norway to continue dumping cut-price salmon on the European market. The EC fixed minimum prices for Norwegian salmon, but refused to impose an import levy.

BRITISH Aerospace ended five decades of aviation manufacturing in Scotland by announcing it was winding down production of its 30-seater Jetstream aircraft at Prestwick, with the loss of about 400 jobs.

THE president of Nomura Securities plunged Japan's scandal-ridden financial services industry deeper into the mire by admitting the Japanese brokerage may be implicated in illegal pay-offs to racketeers.

MINING group Gencor reacted coolly to speculation that it plans to spin off its South African interests into a London-listed vehicle worth $1.6 billion.

EMI, the music group whose artists include the Spice Girls, saw $320 million wiped from its market value after warning it would make only "modest" progress during the current year.

NEARLY 8 million people won a windfall averaging $3,800 after the Halifax building society floated on the London stock market.

RACAL is to axe 1,000 jobs, mainly in Britain and the US, after the electronics giant's profits fell by nearly $50 million.

## FOREIGN EXCHANGES

| | Sterling rates June 3 | Sterling rates May 19 |
|---|---|---|
| Australia | 2.1506-2.1529 | 2.1154-2.1177 |
| Austria | 19.82-19.84 | 19.68-19.69 |
| Belgium | 58.15-58.19 | 57.68-57.77 |
| Canada | 2.2478-2.2496 | 2.2468-2.2486 |
| Denmark | 10.73-10.73 | 10.64-10.65 |
| France | 9.50-9.51 | 9.41-9.42 |
| Germany | 2.8175-2.8197 | 2.7962-2.7984 |
| Hong Kong | 12.64-12.64 | 12.67-12.68 |
| Ireland | 1.0872-1.0892 | 1.0738-1.0762 |
| Italy | 2,772-2,774 | 2,741-2,744 |
| Japan | 190.12-190.34 | 190.27-190.48 |
| Netherlands | 3.1706-3.1730 | 3.1421-3.1446 |
| New Zealand | 2.3708-2.3735 | 2.3691-2.3718 |
| Norway | 11.68-11.69 | 11.63-11.64 |
| Portugal | 284.23-284.51 | 281.03-281.31 |
| Spain | 238.05-238.31 | 235.39-235.66 |
| Sweden | 12.71-12.72 | 12.57-12.58 |
| Switzerland | 2.3338-2.3365 | 2.3393-2.3413 |
| USA | 1.6326-1.6332 | 1.6382-1.6389 |
| ECU | 1.4464-1.4479 | 1.4314-1.4326 |

FTSE100 Share Index down 58.4 at 4662.8. FTSE 250 Index down 35.8 at 4481.8. Gold up $0.50 at $344.75.

# Euro: time to go back to the drawing board

ANALYSIS
**Larry Elliot**

THE crisis in monetary union has been an accident waiting to happen. And, make no mistake, it is a crisis, despite what Bonn, Paris and Brussels may say this week in an attempt to convince the financial markets that everything is still on course for the euro to be introduced in 1999.

Conceived in a different economic era, the single currency project has ensured that Europe has had deflation when it should have had reflation. It has been thrust down the throats of Europe's 20 million unemployed by politicians long on historic vision but short on economic common sense.

Now the people are having their say, either directly as in France, or through the channel of the Bundesbank in Germany.

Claims that Chancellor Helmut Kohl's war with the Bundesbank is merely a local difficulty, and that France remains committed to monetary union despite the bloody nose given to President Chirac, should be taken with a large pinch of salt.

John Major and Norman Lamont insisted before Black Wednesday in 1992 that the pound would never be forced out of the Exchange Rate Mechanism. It was. The rest of Europe vowed a year later that speculators would never emasculate the ERM. They did.

So for all the brave noises, the events of the past weekend have deep significance, not least for Britain, where the wait-and-see policy adopted by both parties in the election campaign is looking ever more sensible as the days roll by.

There is absolutely no chance that the euro will come into force as planned. The choice is between the most blatant fudging of the criteria for entry, a rewriting of the Maastricht terms to suit the French Socialists, delay to ensure that countries qualify as originally stipulated, or a total collapse. One school of thought argues that monetary union will never work, because it is trying to impose on Europe an economic homogeneity that simply does not exist. Without flexible exchange rates, and with very limited labour mobility, under-performing countries will be saddled with chronically high unemployment.

However, the chances that the European Commission president Jacques Santer or Chancellor Kohl will admit that this is the case are zero. That being so, an alternative would be to admit that the single-currency blueprint is now anachronistic and should be rewritten.

This, in effect, is what Lionel Jospin's Socialists are saying when they talk about the need for a commitment to jobs and growth as well as low inflation. It would take account of the fact that when monetary union was first proposed in the late 1980s, Europe was in an era of sustained and strong expansion, and it was thought necessary to write tough anti-inflationary clauses into the Maastricht treaty.

In practice, inflation has been the least of Europe's problems. The continent has been hampered by low growth for most of the 1990s, with the pain exacerbated by the spending cuts and tax increases necessary to bring down budget deficits at breakneck speed.

But tearing up Maastricht and starting again is likely to be only marginally more palatable to monetary union supporters than outright abandonment. Given that fudging the criteria now also appears to be a dead duck, the least-bad option for Brussels would be to take the advice of the Bundesbank's Hans Tietmeyer and postpone the starting date from 1999.

This runs the risk that the whole project will unravel because European Union members will have less reason to take the painful measures necessary to qualify, but Mr Tietmeyer obviously believes it is now a case of better late than never.

# Cyberspace enters best-seller lists

The Internet may be a threat but the bookshop should not be written off yet, writes **Chris Barrie**

AMERICAN investors are desperate to buy shares in a loss-making bookshop in Seattle — so much so that the value of the shares in Amazon Inc rose more than 60 per cent on the first day of trading.

Amazon has the power to revolutionise bookselling. More than 6,000 miles away, the shop could spell disaster for many of Britain's high street bookshops.

The shop trades globally via the Internet. Last year it lost $5.8 million selling books to 180,000 customers. But it could make huge profits by selling in any location where there are computers linked to the Net.

At first glance technology appears to be driving the market in Amazon's direction. With access to 2.5 million books held by wholesalers and minimal inventory of its own, Amazon has low overheads which translate into discounts of 40 per cent on best-sellers.

The company is forecasting massive growth, and others agree on its potential. Britain has its version of Amazon — the Internet Bookshop — and high street chains are setting up their own websites. Waterstones is electronically reproduced with its trademark maroons and blacks, the fast-growing Books etc is planning a website, and even small, independent retailers are aware of the Net's potential — and its threat.

Books seem ideal for electronic sale. They are much the same size, their contents are easily described and they stay fresh in the post. By getting readers to contribute reviews, Internet shops create a clubbish atmosphere. And by recording past customer choices, the online shops can market their titles precisely.

Internet interlopers are forcing their way into an industry already battling falling sales and the end, 18 months ago, of the protectionist regime offered by the Net Book Agreement (NBA).

Sales to the public fell 3.8 per cent last year, according to Corporate Intelligence on Retailing. The main threat comes from other forms of entertainment. Adding to the bookshop squeeze are the supermarkets, which now have about 6 per cent of the market with sales of $160 million.

For all that, some retailers believe they will prosper better in tomorrow's free market than thought possible before the NBA's end.

Supermarkets may be doing well, but their impact has been limited by a brake on their growth in market share due to their limited stock range. They appear to be selling to customers who are unable to use ordinary bookshops, such as parents with armloads of children in tow. Corporate Intelligence suggests the supermarkets have little scope to push their share much higher than 10 per cent.

**Internet interlopers are forcing their way into an industry already battling falling sales**

Similarly, some retailers believe that the Net is grossly overrated. Tim O'Kelly runs a small bookshop in the Hampshire town of Petersfield. He says his customers show little interest in the Internet and points out that the much-vaunted CD Rom revolution simply did not happen.

Certainly, books seem to be weathering the technology revolution well. Despite concerns over the recent drop in sales, researchers from consultants Book Marketing believe the young still read books.

Research manager Steve Bohme says longer-term surveys show that book-buying has been steady for at least eight years. People aged 15-24 account for 15 per cent of the adult population, 16 per cent of people who buy books, and 13 per cent of books bought.

It is possible, of course, to browse on the Net. But as Lynne Drew, editorial director of publisher Heinemann says, some books also need to be handled: "You just can't get a sense of the content of some books electronically."

Victoria Barnsley, managing director of publisher Fourth Estate, says books produced for information will sell through the Net, but more general titles will not. "A lot of book-lovers just love browsing."

She forecasts that publishers will use the Net for marketing while leaving sales to shops or electronic companies, such as Amazon, where customers will have the convenience of an account.

All this begs the question of whether books are simply commodities or something more special. Throwing a book away is still taboo, and burning it is even worse. But some books are now as perishable as magazines — a book on an election campaign lasts six months at most — and if numbers are anything to go by, books are getting less special by the month.

John Monk, managing director of Books etc, estimates there are 600,000 titles in print, with another 100,000 out every year. Coping with the flood of new titles is proving "ridiculous", he says.

Publishers and wholesalers are now forced to offer books to shops on a sale or return basis because of these burgeoning numbers. Shops stock a huge range of titles, between 40,000 and 100,000 in the case of Mr Monk's chain.

As the book market becomes more fractured and the customers more sophisticated, small independent bookshops can fight back against the supermarkets' discounted best-sellers. All bookshops are becoming more sophisticated, creating an atmosphere in which customers want to buy books.

Waterstones began this emphasis on atmosphere, borrowing US retailing techniques such as longer opening hours, large stock-holding and knowledgable staff. Tim Waterstone's shops deliberately cultivated a bookish atmosphere.

By contrast, the W H Smith chain specialises in a more accessible atmosphere. Buyers are guided to top 10 selections, popular fiction and best-sellers.

Atmosphere may also explain the survival of Foyles, the London bookshop which breaks all the rules by stocking piles of books in a chaotic mishmash. But despite the brickbats thrown at the shop by the book trade, Foyles is rarely empty.

Across the road is the modern face of bookselling at Books etc, the aisles spacious and books racked in logical progression.

Ms Drew of Heinemann forecasts that bookshops face constant reinvention in an effort to stimulate sales. She says: "The book is perceived as a luxury but not a premium product". Customers will not pay a lot, nor do they need books. The challenge is therefore to stimulate sales among the wider population.

Often publishers exploit authors as brands, and top-sellers are worth hefty advances. But other publishers who cannot match their prices turn instead to design.

Jon Simmons, a director at image-makers Newall and Sorrell, was hired by Bloomsbury when it was launched. He gave the publisher's books an aura of longevity with a ribbon bookmark, larger flaps on the jackets and gold lettering.

Meanwhile Harvill, a literary house, publishes some unknown but fine writers. Book design, therefore, has to be similar enough across Harvill titles for readers to recognise the publisher, who becomes the brand, the guarantor of quality. Having read a book by Mikhail Bulgakov, readers will then be attracted to books by Tabucchi or Matthiessen.

The irony is that this revolution in book-selling was forced through by publishers and retailers themselves, who believed discounts would benefit their "pile 'em high, sell 'em cheap" approach. One once-prominent publishing executive in the vanguard of the NBA revolution used to enjoy confusing Boswell and Orwell. Brash discounts were to be the order of the day.

In fact the opposite has happened. Bookshops have found other marketing devices, and the Boswell-Orwell manager has been remaindered. The Net may pose a threat for the long term, but no one should write off the bookshop yet.

## MRC LABORATORIES, THE GAMBIA

# Administrative Director

This is the Council's largest establishment concerned with research in tropical medicine and international health. The research programme centres on the following themes: HIV, other virus infections, malaria, non-communicable diseases, reproductive health, TB, respiratory infections. The field and laboratory based work draws on excellent research and clinical facilities and attracts international funding.

You will report directly to the Director and be responsible for the management of all administrative and scientific support services.

There are senior scientific staff numbering approximately 60 people from all over the world. The total number of employees is 500, including visiting workers and support staff. The main base is located at Fajara on the coast which comprises laboratories, a hospital, offices, workshops and residential accommodation. In addition there are three field stations inland and support is also provided to a field station based at Keneba which is part of MRC's Dunn Nutrition Unit, Cambridge.

The Administrative Director is supported by three administrative managers covering personnel, finance and accounts, together with four service managers (and approx. 200 service staff) responsible for the laboratories, maintenance, transport, external estate and electronic/electrical services.

The post is complex and demanding, offering substantial variety and interest, with an attractive and friendly working environment. The post holder should be an experienced and committed individual with the ability to understand, and take an active interest in, scientific, clinical and teaching aspects. It is essential that the post holder has training and experience in business administration and financial management, preferably with experience in planning and computerised management systems. The successful post holder should also have communication, writing and negotiating skills, together with a current knowledge of human resource management.

Experience of managing teams and large scale facilities in a developing country would also be an advantage, as would experience of fund-raising and contract negotiation.

The starting salary will be negotiable starting at around £30k – £40k, subject to qualifications and experience – plus overseas allowances, furnished accommodation, flights and other benefits. The main base in Fajara is in an attractive setting by the sea and only eight miles from the capital Banjul, with nearby shops, schools and recreational facilities. The contract will be for three years in the first instance, commencing late Summer/early Autumn.

**MRC**
Medical Research Council

**Further details and application forms are available from Mrs Helen Drozdzewski, MRC, 20 Park Crescent, London W1N 4AL. Ansaphone (+44) (0)171 637 6005, Fax (+44) (0)171 637 0361, Internet: helen.drozdzewski@headoffice.mrc.ac.uk**

**Closing date for applications is Friday 4th July 1997 and interviews are likely to take place during July.**

---



## The United Nations University

### Vice Rector(s)
### Tokyo, Japan

**The United Nations University (UNU)** is an international community of scholars, engaged in research, postgraduate training and dissemination of knowledge in furtherance of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Its activities are carried out through a central programming and coordinating body and a network of research and postgraduate training centres and programmes located in industrialized and developing countries.

**The Vice Rector(s)** will report to and serve as a senior colleague(s) of the Rector of the University and share primary responsibility for the planning, implementation and coordination of the global academic activities of the University carried out from the UNU Centre in Tokyo and through UNU research and training centres and programmes located elsewhere. The Vice Rector(s) will assist the Rector in ensuring the overall integration and coherence of UNU academic activities.

**Candidates** for a Vice-Rectorship should have a well-established, internationally recognized academic profile within one of the two areas:

1) Environmental studies/engineering; or
2) Peace, security and global governance, including human rights.

They should have demonstrated managerial experience and the ability to exercise academic leadership within the multicultural setting of an international organization. Fluency in English is required; a working knowledge of other official languages of the United Nations is desirable.

**Remuneration:** Competitive tax-free salary and allowances at a senior level within the United Nations system

**Appointment:** The Rector of the University would appoint a successful candidate(s) in early autumn 1997.

**Nominations or applications,** including full curriculum vitae, a list of publications and a list of referees, should be received by 15 July 1997 at the following address:

**UNU Vice Rector Search Committee**
**c/o Office of the Rector**
**United Nations University Headquarters**
**53-70 Jingumae 5-chome, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo 150, Japan**
**Fax: 81-3-3499-2828**

---




**TEFL COURSES**

Trinity College Certificate (4-week full-time) for those with no experience of teaching English. Trinity College Diploma (distance-learning) for experienced teachers.

Also, courses of English for foreign students.



For more details, phone
UK ++44 171 734 3889, fax 287 1623,
e-mail oxho@easynet.co.uk
OXFORD HOUSE COLLEGE,
LONDON, 3, OXFORD STREET W1R 1RF

---

## University of Newcastle upon Tyne

**CENTRE FOR INTERNATIONAL STUDIES IN EDUCATION**
**FACULTY OF EDUCATION**

### LECTURER

A Lecturer is required to teach at Master's and Doctoral levels, both in Newcastle and overseas. The ability to tutor research students is also desirable, as is a commitment to personal research.

The appointee will contribute to one or more of the following curriculum areas of the Centre for International Studies in Education:

Educational Management, Higher Education, Policy and Planning in Education, Primary Education, School Improvement, Special Educational Needs, Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages.

Candidates should have significant experience of working overseas and of working with overseas students in Higher Education. A higher degree in education and a publication record is expected. The flexibility to work in international contexts is essential.

The appointment will take effect on September 1st 1997 or as soon as possible thereafter, and is available for a fixed term of three years. It may be renewed.

Salary will be at an appropriate point on either the Lecturer Grade A scale: £16,045 - £21,016 p.a., or Grade B scale: £21,894 - £27,985 p.a., according to qualifications and experience.

To apply see below, quoting reference A3484/G.
Closing date for applications: 20 June 1997.

FOR THE ABOVE POST: For further information, including how to apply, please telephone (0191) 222 6429 (24 hour answerphone) quoting the appropriate reference number or write to: Personnel Section, University of Newcastle, 1 Park Terrace, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE1 7RU.

*Committed to Equal Opportunities*

---

# St CHRISTOPHER

**A SCHOOL WITH A LONGTERM COMMITMENT TO OVERSEAS FAMILIES**

At St Christopher School we have boarders from 8 to 18 from a wide range of cultural and national backgrounds. Our long experience helps us make a caring and supportive homelife for such boys and girls. Overseas parents are represented on our well established Parents' Committee.

The School has been fully co-educational, boarding and vegetarian since 1915. Our campus has the informal atmosphere of a friendly village. Younger boarders live in family style houses with Houseparents and with breakfast, tea and supper taken in the boarding house. 6th Formers have student rooms.

We aim at good work and high ideals with lots of fun in the process. A full and challenging curriculum leads to 16 GCSE and 19 A Level courses with equal emphasis on arts and science. There are exceptional facilities for art, music, drama, computing and adventure training. We encourage self-confidence by valuing each child as an individual.

*Entry considered at most levels from age 8 - 16*

For more details, contact Susan Mellor, Admissions Secretary
Tel: 01462 679301 Fax: 01462 481578
St Christopher School
Letchworth, Herts SG6 3JZ
*1 mile from A1(M), 35 minutes from Kings Cross*
The School is an Educational Charity which aims to treat all children as individuals and to develop their proper self-confidence.

---




**ESP (Business) courses also available.**
**The English Language Ctr, Standbrook Hs, Suite 3c, 2-5 Old Bond Street, London W1X 3TB**

---

**FAIRFAX UNIVERSITY (USA)**
- Int. Home Study degree programs
- Credits for prior learning/experience
- BA, MBA, PhD etc programs in most subjects
- Entry any time

**Prospectus from UK representative office: EES Offices (GUW), P.O. Box 400 Peterborough PE2 6GD U.K. Tele/Fax: +44 (0) 1733 238923**

---

THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE OF THE CARIBOO

**Diploma in Management**

**3 Programs:** (no pre-requisites required)
- General Management Program
- Human Resource Management Program
- Management and Training Program

Distance learning using the internet, e-mail and print.

**VISIT OUR WEBSITE**
www.cariboo.bc.ca/dk/exec_diploma/edm.htm
**FOR A FREE INFORMATION PACKAGE**
email:mott@cariboo.bc.ca

---

**Department of Physical Education, Sports Science and Recreation Management**

The Department has a long and successful history of academic and professional leadership in Physical Education, Sports Science and Recreation Management. It has achieved a research rating of 5 in the last two National Research Assessment Exercises

Candidates with international research profiles are invited to apply for the following

**Professor of Recreation Management**

This post will be centrally involved in the existing academic and administrative activity of the Recreation Management Section, in particular in providing leadership in its research and teaching. The area of expertise of the successful candidate will fall within the field of recreation management which encompasses a wide range of business and social science disciplines **Ref: 97/88/PS**

**Professor of Sport Psychology**

You will bring your own research interests to the work of the Sports Science Section and will lead a team of two other academics in research and the teaching of Sports Psychology both at undergraduate and postgraduate level. **Ref: 97/89/PS**

*Informal enquiries regarding the professorial posts may be addressed to Professor C Williams, Pro-Vice-Chancellor tel 01509 223258*

*For further details please write to the Registrar, Loughborough University, Loughborough, Leics LE11 3TU, (or e-mail V.P.Unsworth@lboro.ac.uk)*

*Please quote appropriate reference*

**Lecturers in Sports Psychology (two posts)**

You will have completed (or about to complete) a doctorate and will be expected to make substantial contributions to teaching and research. Candidates who could make a contribution to practical sports (Sports Technology) would be particularly welcome. These appointments will be for three years in the first instance

Salary will be on the Lecturer Grade A (£16,045 - £21,016 pa) or B (£21,894 - £27,985 pa) depending on qualifications and experience

*Informal enquiries may be addressed to Mr. [illegible] Jones, Head of Department, tel 01509 223258* **Ref: 97/90/PS**

*For further details please write to Personnel Services, Loughborough University, Loughborough, Leics LE11 3TU (e-mail Personnel@lboro.ac.uk).*
*Please quote appropriate reference*
*Closing date for all posts 27 June 1997*




*We are committed to equal opportunities*

---

**PRE-MBA BUSINESS ENGLISH COURSES 1997**

for students who have been accepted on an MBA course & for experienced business people who need higher level business English language skills.

**We can offer you:**
- a full-time intensive course
- a tailormade introduction to MBA studies
- tuition by experienced, friendly & professional staff
- modern teaching & learning methods including computers, CD-ROM, internet, video
- use of University computing, library & sports facilities
- membership of the Students' Union
- courses in July or August 1997.

**Study in the atmosphere of a British University!**



**University of Surrey**
*Promoting Excellence in Education & Research*

For further information, contact
Mrs. S. E. Mitchell
English Language Institute
University of Surrey
Guildford GU2 5XH
United Kingdom
Tel: 01483 - 259911
Fax: 01483 - 259507
E-mail: eli@surrey.ac.uk
Internet: http://www.surrey.ac.uk/ELI/eli.html

---



## ANGLIA BUSINESS SCHOOL

# MBA

## Danbury and Cambridge

Achieve a competitive advantage for yourself and your organisation by taking one of Anglia Business School's high quality and innovative MBA programmes. These programmes develop executive leadership through the ability to think strategically and resolve complex real life management issues. You can enrol on:

**The Executive MBA** - *an established international management programme,*
or join one of our new **specialist MBAs** (full time and part time):

**MBA** - *Marketing*
**MBA** - *Financial Management*
**MBA** - *International Human Resource Management*
**MBA** - *Business Systems Management*

***For further details of these challenging and rewarding programmes contact:***
***Danbury:*** *Alice Gregson or Annabel Hunt. Tel: +44 1245 225511 ext 3832 Fax: +44 1245 224331. Danbury Park Campus, Essex, England CM3 4AT*
***Cambridge:*** *Linda Lawrence. Tel: +44 1223 363271 ext 2228. Fax: +44 1223 365033. Management Development Division, East Road, Cambridge, England XB1 1PT.*
*E-mail:Jknowles@bridge.anglia.ac.uk*

**Anglia Polytechnic University**

---

# Head of International Programme Advisory and Development Department

Central London c£28,000
*(1 year fixed term contract with possible extension)*

The British Red Cross cares for people at home and abroad, meeting the needs of vulnerable people in times of emergency.

The International Programme Advisory and Development Department provides a range of services to the British Red Cross Society (BRCS) and other partners within the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement to help strengthen the quality of all BRCS international programming.

We are looking for an experienced specialist in this field to head up a team of professional advisors and take overall responsibility for co-ordination of our international development work. You will be responsible for key services - providing an advisory service, developing policies and procedures, as well as undertaking research to enhance the effectiveness of our programmes.

You should have at least 2 years' programme planning experience overseas, and a further 3 years' experience in this field within the UK. You need to be able to demonstrate a sound knowledge of good practice in organisational development and strategic planning. You will also need strong communication and influencing skills to ensure that policy is appropriately developed and effectively implemented. This position necessitates you working abroad for up to sixty days per annum.

**Please send your CV, quoting ref AF/105, to British Red Cross Society, 9 Grosvenor Crescent, LONDON SW1X 7EJ, UK or fax on 44 171 235 4591. Closing date for receipt of applications is 4 July 1997.**

*As a charity we are only able to reply to those selected for interview. If you do not hear from us within 8 weeks we regret to inform you that your application has been unsuccessful*



**British Red Cross**
*Caring for people in crisis*

---

## HEAD OF PROGRAMMES INFORMATION

**London Based (Vauxhall) £31,112 p.a.**

As Head of Programmes Information you will play a vital role within SCF, leading the development of information strategy for the Programmes Department. You will be managing and guiding the work of the Unit, ensuring that it is effective, coherent and contributes to the overall work of the Policy Section, the Department and SCF, and is in line with the global programme strategy and corporate priorities/objectives. Along with the Policy Director and other members of the Policy Management Team, you will also be responsible for developing the Policy Section as a cohesive and effective team.

You will need substantial professional experience in the areas of information and communication and the ability to develop information strategy which will involve taking the lead on information initiatives and maintaining quality standards in the information work of the Department. With experience and an understanding of information systems - their design and operation, database management, a knowledge of related software applications and current trends, you'll also be able to plan and review the development of systems.

A proven ability to build, sustain, lead and manage a team, especially in order to foster new ways of working, manage change and to set and achieve shared objectives, is essential.

For a job description and an application form, please contact Jackie Denton, Personnel Department, SCF, 17 Grove Lane, London SE5 8RD or fax 0171 703 2278.

Closing date for return of completed applications: 4th July 1997.

SCF aims to be an equal opportunities employer.

**Save the Children**

■ Working for a better world for children

---

**Centre for Mass Communication Research**

## MA IN MASS COMMUNICATIONS by Distance Learning

A part-time, 2-year course for every media professional and student of media issues.

Research into media production, texts and audiences in global context.

- CMCR international reputation for excellence
- high quality texts and AV materials
- prepared by leading experts worldwide
- personal tutors; teaching events
- assessment by assignment, examination and dissertation
- contact us NOW for October start

Candidates should hold good honours degree. Equivalent qualifications or relevant professional experience will be considered. English language proficiency.

For course brochure and application forms, contact The Course Secretary, quoting ref DL/GW697, CMCR, University of Leicester, 104 Regent Road, Leicester LE1 7LT, UK. Tel: +44 116 252 5275. Fax: +44 116 252 5276. email: hj4@leicester.ac.uk.




**Promoting excellence in University teaching and research**

---

(RE-ADVERTISEMENT)




UNIVERSITY COLLEGE CHESTER
A College of the University of Liverpool
EXTENDING OPPORTUNITIES THROUGH EDUCATION

**SALARY RANGE £40,053 TO £44.022**

Applications are invited for this post, tenable from 1st September 1997 *(or as soon as possible thereafter)* from persons with the vision to lead initial and continuing teacher education and to play a significant role as a member of the senior management team of the College.

**For an application form and further details please send an A4 s.a.e. to the Personnel Manager, Personnel Department, University College Chester, Cheyney Road, Chester, CH1 4BJ, Tel: 01244 375 444 Ext: 3441, quoting ref. JD/001 Completed application forms must be received no later than Wednesday 25th June.**

***Interviews will be held - Mid July.***

---



---

**Applications Urgently Required for the Following International Positions:**

**Professor of Computer Art (USA)**
Experience in C++, 3D, OGL, Soft SDK, Lingo; 3D & 2D animation, Softimage, 3D Max.

**Professor of Interior Design (USA)**
Professional knowledge and College level teaching

**Professor of Industrial Design (USA)**
Familiar with computer related design and modeling skills, to teach at all levels.

**Economist/Mathematician**
1 Position - Introduction to Economics [illegible] Maths/Stats
1 Position - Economist including [illegible], International Economics, Money and Banking.

Please fax details immediately to: 01908 208062 or send to:
The Education Group Limited Wilan Court, 370 Wilan Gate West, Central Milton Keynes, Bucks MK9 7LQ or e-mail: 106106.244@compuserve.com.

We would welcome applications from subject teachers and lecturers

---

***Creative Writing, Freelance and News Journalism***
***Diploma courses by Distance Learning or Tutorials***

**LONDON SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM**

GW, 22 Upbrook Mews, London W2 3HG England
Fax: +44(0)171 706 3780 GW@lsjournalism.com
ODLQC 1921 76 years of teaching success 1997 ABCC

# UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

## Graduate Studies in Economics

SOAS
University of London

### The Department of Economics

**Internal Degree Programmes**

The University of London Master of Science in Economics from the School of Oriental and African Studies is a leading international qualification for professional development economists. The Department of Economics at SOAS offers the following degrees:

- MSc in Development Economics
- MSc Economics with reference to Africa
- MSc Economics with reference to South Asia
- MSc Economics with reference to the Middle East
- MSc Economics with reference to the Asia Pacific Region

Students attend lectures and small group seminars over a period of twelve months. They study advanced economic theory, econometrics and the political economy of development. Students also make their own selection from a unique range of more specialised courses in applied economics.

The MSc provides students with the advanced theory and technical skills to embark on the Department's PhD programme. We particularly welcome applications for research on: agricultural development; rural poverty, gender and food systems; money, banking and finance; emerging markets; foreign trade; macroeconomic adjustment; industry; environmental and labour economics.

Scholarships and bursaries are available. In particular, we invite applications for the Foreign and Colonial Pacific Investment Fellowship; and the Mozambique Scholarship Fund open to students from Mozambique wishing to follow any of the 5 MSc degrees.

For application forms, details of courses and scholarships contact Vivienne Geard, Economics Department, SOAS, University of London, Thornhaugh Street, London WC1H 0XG.
Tel: +44(0)171 323 6169 (24 hours) Fax: +44(0)171 323 6277
Web page : http://www.soas.ac.uk/Economics/

### Centre for International Education in Economics

**Distance Learning Programmes**

If you are interested in a postgraduate qualification but can't spare time away from work or home, our award winning programmes offer you:

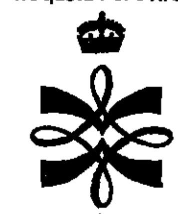
- world-class education without interruption to your career
- specially designed, fully comprehensive materials
- high quality tutorial support by fax, phone and e-mail
- registration anywhere in the world for up to 5 years

CIEE provides the opportunity to study for the following degrees:

- Postgraduate Diploma in Economic Principles
- MSc in Financial Economics
- MSc in Financial Management
- MSc in Development Finance

For further information about our programmes, contact Richard Arnold on +44(0)171 323 6342

For a brochure, write to June Ryde, CIEE, SOAS, University of London, Thornhaugh Street, London WC1H 0XG, UK.
Telephone: +44(0)171 323 6366 (24 hours)
Fax: +44(0)171 637 7075
Email: CIEEUOL@SOAS.ac.uk
Web page: http://www.soas.ac.uk/Centres/CIEE/
Please quote Ref GW/97



THE QUEEN'S ANNIVERSARY PRIZES 1996

WWF - World Wide Fund for Nature International, the world's largest and most experienced independent conservation organisation is seeking to recruit a

## REGIONAL DIRECTOR
### for its Africa & Madagascar Programme

Based in Gland, Switzerland, the Regional Director will be a committed conservationist, with a proven track record in managing and fundraising for large multi-donor programmes. S/he will assume responsibility for the Africa/Madagascar Regional Programme and supervise and guide the work of a highly competent team of headquarters and decentralized, field-based staff. In cooperation with the relevant WWF National Organisations and Programme Offices, s/he will also lead and co-ordinate all WWF conservation programme activities in the Africa/Madagascar region.

**Essentials for this position include:**

- a minimum of 10 years' experience in conservation, natural resource management or development sectors in Africa or Madagascar;
- a good understanding of species conservation, protected areas management and community-based natural resource management;
- a sound experience of strategic planning, programme implementation, monitoring and evaluation;
- familiarity with modern methods of participatory programme development and the use of logical frameworks for planning;
- excellent human resource management skills;
- presentation and communications skills in both English and French;
- a willingness to travel frequently within Africa and to other international destinations.

Interested candidates should please send a covering letter with their CV to Ms. Effie Blanchard, WWF International, Avenue du Mont Blanc, 1196 Gland, Switzerland. The closing date for applications is 20th June 1997.

WWF is an equal opportunity employer.

### Reader/Senior Lecturer/ Lecturer International Trade Law

**Department of Law**

In order to further strengthen its distinguished research reputation the Department of Law wish to appoint an expert in International Trade Law. The Department may appoint at Reader/Senior Lecturer or Lecturer level.

The Department was awarded a 5 in the recent RAE and its teaching is rated 'excellent'.

The person appointed will have potential to carry out research and to write at the highest level of excellence.

They will be involved in teaching on the LLM in International Trade Law. Informal enquiries may be made to Professor Janet Dine on (01206) 873542.

Application details may be obtained by telephoning Colchester (01206) 872462 (24 hours), quoting reference L/166 or by writing to the Personnel Section, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex CO4 3SQ. Closing date: 20th June 1997.

**Promoting excellence in research, scholarship and education.**
**Working towards equal opportunities.**

University of Essex

### Field Office Director




Save the Children, an international relief and development agency, announces an opening for a Field Office Director in Bangladesh. The director will hold responsibility for the administrative and fiscal management of the field office and program activities. Programs include health, population and nutrition; economic opportunities; education; and, humanitarian response. REQUIREMENTS: BA, Master's degree preferred. Minimum 5 years experience in planning and managing development projects in the developing world, especially in South Asia. Experience to include financial and personnel management and ability to manage senior staff. Demonstrated ability to relate effectively with U.S. and other governments, NGOs and host governments. Closing date: June 28, 1997. Apply to: **Save the Children, Dept. 677/G/LZ, 54 Wilton Road, Westport, CT 06880, USA, Fax 203-221-4077.** An EOE M/F.







THE UNIVERSITY OF BIRMINGHAM

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

### LECTURESHIP IN BILINGUALISM IN EDUCATION

Applications are invited for the above post commencing September 1997. A start date of January 1998 may be considered.

Candidates will have a masters degree, PhD preferred, in a related field and experience of working with bilingual learners in an educational setting. They will be expected to facilitate the development of relevant research and teaching in these areas and add to the research profile of this 5A rated School of Education.

Salary in the range of £21,894 - £27,985 per annum. Post available for 3 years.

**Application forms (returnable by 20 June 1997) and further particulars are available from the Director of Staffing Services, The University of Birmingham, Edgbaston, Birmingham B15 2TT, telephone 0121 414 6486, (e-mail: STAFFING@BHAM.AC.UK). Please quote reference E14172/97.**

Working towards equal opportunities.

## CLASSIFIED

CAR HIRE







'I say he was murdered' . . . Tom Stones reviews his great-uncle's case notes PHOTOGRAPH: DON McPHEE

Sergeant Stones was shot for cowardice in 1916. Tom Stones, his great nephew, tells **David Ward** of his painful struggle to prove that his relative was a hero

# England's hidden shame

AT the end of a beautiful day, Tom Stones sits at a plastic table in the garden of his bungalow and carefully holds two small sheets of paper covered in handwriting in thick pencil. Behind him, the brilliant sun is declining through the branches of a silver birch, and yellow pansies glow as dusk approaches. The garden is ordered and lush; a blackbird maintains a constant serenade.

Tom lights a cigarette and prepares to read. The two flimsy sheets, as thin as tracing paper, make up a letter composed on the battlefield near Arras almost 80 years ago and dispatched down the generations from the trashed landscape of a French wartime winter to the tranquillity of rural Staffordshire in early summer.

The letter, dated December 15, 1916, was written by Tom's great-uncle Will not long before he was executed at dawn by 12 soldiers for "shamefully casting away his rifle" in the face of the enemy.

"It's about a month after the incident and in a month's time he is going to be put in front of a firing squad and shot like a rat," explains Tom. "I'll read it to you because it's quite difficult to read and I've read it many times. It's to his sister Isabella. The grammar and spelling are not perfect — it's a letter from a not very well-educated man, which makes it all the more poignant as far as I'm concerned."

He begins to read: "Dear sister, I am sending you a few lines to say I am going on all right and I hope you are all the same. I thank you for the photo you sent. You will think I am a long time in thanking you for it but I have had no time to write.

"Well, it will soon be Christmas and I hope you all enjoy yourselves. I only wish I had been at home to make you all happy but there is little hope in doing so . . . Tell the little nut [John, Tom's father] that his uncle Will is asking after him and I wish you all a happy Christmas and a bright new year.

"From your loving bro, Will. Goodbye and God bless you all. Sorry I have no writing paper."

There are 40 kisses at the bottom of the letter but no mention of Will's dire plight.

On Christmas Eve 1916, Lance Sergeant Joseph William Stones (No 647, Durham Light Infantry) was sentenced to death by a court martial. On Tom's plastic table lies a sheaf of blue A3 sheets, photocopies of the original verbatim record of the trial now held in the Public Records Office. Tom knows almost all of it by heart — the evidence for the prosecution and the defence, the character references, Will Stones's own clear statement of what happened early on the morning of November 26, 1916 when he was on patrol with an officer on the edge of a mighty hole known as King's Crater.

"A shot went off and Lt Mundy fell to the bottom of the trench. He said: 'My God, I'm shot. For God's sake, sergeant, go for help and tell Mr Howes.' I did so . . . The shot that hit Mr Mundy was from the enemy. I saw the enemy. When I saw them, I had a rifle and bayonet.

"My rifle was loaded. I did not fire because the safety catch was on and the cover was over the breech. My bayonet was not fixed. As I turned to go, the Huns were stepping over Mr Mundy and I put my rifle across the trench so as to stop them from getting across at me so that I could get a lead on them to warn the men."

Will's accusers saw his actions as those of a desperate coward out to save his skin; his great nephew sees them as the actions of a brave man trying to save his colleagues. "There is a very cogent explanation for what happened and he showed some quick thinking there in blocking the trench," says Tom. "When I read the court martial papers I thought, 'How in God's name could they find him guilty?' I say he was murdered."

Tom also claims that the regiment was embarrassed when a badly-planned attack a couple of days after the trench incident went wrong. Generals were looking for scapegoats and found them in Will Stones and the two men executed with him.

Will Stones, then aged 24, joined up in his home town of Crook, County Durham, in 1915 and was promoted to corporal before he left England (and his wife and two daughters) for action in France. Within months he was made up to sergeant and survived the bloodbath on the Somme.

A year ago Tom Stones knew nothing of his grandfather's brother. "I was researching my family tree and flicking back through parish records. I could see that my grandfather had two sisters, who I knew. But lo and behold, there was a brother.

"It really shook me. I found he had enlisted in the DLI and I phoned up the regimental museum in Durham. All I said was 'My name is Tom Stones' and the curator said: 'Sgt Joseph William Stones' and gave Will's number, regiment, battalion. He added: 'You are the last family to contact us'. I didn't know what he was talking about.

"He put me on to Julian Putkowski [author of Shot At Dawn, an account of first world war executions]. He had access to the Public Records Office and was given a sneak preview of some documents just a few days before they were made public. Top of the bunch was my uncle's court martial papers."

Having read those papers time and again, Tom, now on his third cigarette, still wonders how Will was ever convicted. "There's nothing in there that says he ran away, is there? What shines through here are the testimonies to his bravery."

Lieutenant J Rider told the court that Will had arrived in France in February 1916 and had been promoted over the heads of senior NCOs in the company. "He has done good work on patrols and when in charge of wiring parties. I have personally been out with him in no man's land and always found him keen and bold. For the trenches, he never showed the least sign of funk."

Company Sergeant Major Holroyd agreed: "He was the last man in the company I ever expected to shirk his duty."

The light in Tom's garden is fading now and it is becoming harder to read these painful documents kept hidden for 80 years. A black-edged memorial card now lies on the table; like the letter to Isabella, it was found in the Stones family bible. The card, with its drawing of lilies of the valley, records that Sergeant J W Stones was "killed in action in France". Tom explains how Will's family suffered once that myth was exposed and the true account of his death emerged.

"His widow knows nothing until about six weeks later. She goes for her war widow's pension and is told there isn't any for her because her husband had been shot as a coward. That was the first she knew.

"She is now virtually destitute. Four months later, she marries her husband's best friend who had stayed in the pits. They moved away and had three more children. Neither they nor Will's own two daughters knew anything of our side of the family and I didn't know of their existence. One daughter is still alive and lives in Birmingham. We are going to get together next week."

IT'S almost dark but Tom does not want to go in. He tidies his blue court records and opens Julian Putkowski's book, which contains an eye-witness account of the last moments of Will Stones. A prisoner tells how he was told to dig three holes after certain measurements had been made in the snow early on the piercingly cold morning of January 18.

"A crowd of brass hats, the medical officer and three firing parties. Three stakes a few yards apart and a ring of sentries around the woodland to keep the curious away.

"A motor ambulance arrives carrying the doomed men. Manacled and blindfolded, they are helped out and tied up to the stakes. Over each man's heart is placed an envelope. At the sign of command, the firing parties, 12 for each, align their rifles on the envelopes.

"The officer in charge holds his stick aloft and, as it falls, 36 bullets usher the souls of three of Kitchener's men to the great unknown."

As we leave, Tom says that all he wants is for the Government to acknowledge that the War Office made a mistake. "I'm not asking for a medal. But I want his name back on the war memorial in Crook. It's stupid but I feel responsible. Will can't do anything about it — he's long gone."

# In Sweden, there's no place like home

EKERÖ DIARY
**Alex Duval Smith**

I WAS in Washington when the call came through: my mother, who lives in Sweden and has Parkinson's disease, had taken a turn for the worse.

As I phoned travel agencies, the TV tortured me with an ad for health insurance; in the United States, there should be a support group for worried carers hearing such ads' guilt-trip rubbish. In Britain, New Labour was taking its first steps. I was pondering how often key words like health, welfare and equality might crop up in the next five years.

I feel strongly about these things because I lived in Sweden in the 1970s and 1980s, the daughter of a single mother in a society where the safety net was a well-sprung mattress. I knew people who paid a lot of tax, but I had never seen a beggar until 1983 when I moved to London. Since then, the failing Swedish economy and the growth of unemployment has demanded drastic changes, sharp welfare savings and tax cuts. It has not been Thatcherism but for *Folkhemmet* (the People's Home). It has been traumatic.

So when I left for Ekerö, the Stockholm suburb where my mother lives, I did not know what care provisions I would find, nor how I would pay for the necessary help. Within two hours of arriving, I was with my mother's doctor, trying to work out the options for a confused patient who must take 11 different drugs in varying doses every four hours. She lives in an old house with steep stairs and no neighbours.

Parkinson's disease progresses unpredictably in each patient. I thought, at best, that I would have to battle with authorities determined to move my mother somewhere more sensible. At worst, I foresaw having to go flat-hunting to avoid her being admitted to hospital. As I talked to the doctor and watched the social services spring into action, unencumbered by bureaucracy, I realised that it was I who had changed much more than Sweden.

Sweden realised years ago that the most cost-effective care takes place in the home. But Sweden laid on the facilities, even for my mother who is not housebound and has her mental faculties.

Now, for a nominal charge, she has a telephone alarm system, a taxi service, physiotherapy sessions and daily visits from the district nurse. A lift may be installed on her stairs and new banisters. Seven days a week, morning and evening, home helps visit.

Well-schooled in the British view that anything successfully provided by the state is a miracle, I was terribly grateful. "This is your right, your mother's right. There is nothing to be grateful for," came the answer time and again. Yes, it costs money, but a lot less than the tax-slashers would have you believe. Sweden spends 6 per cent of GDP on health and 7 per cent on social security and welfare. It spends 4 per cent on defence.

Income tax now stands at top rate of 30 per cent, though in areas like Stockholm, up to a further 30 per cent goes towards local authorities and social charges. As part of moves to dismantle old-style health care, services are contracted out to the private sector.

The system remains a vote-winner. Any Swede is most proud of the country's natural environment, then its egalitarian society and welfare state. No one has forgotten that, 100 years ago, Stockholm was a slum with 50 per cent infant mortality. Now Sweden's government has 50 per cent women in the cabinet.

One of the most heartening aspects is that the system allows for personal attention. A home help telephoned me before I left: "We are due to come and clean tomorrow but since it is your last day, we wondered whether it would be more convenient for us to come on Thursday," she said.

# Majesty brought to earth

**Paul Evans**

*THE SEASON* of rebirth to fertility for the oak, ancient symbol of masculine deities, comes during the transition between spring and summer. Of the old festivals for the tree, Oak Apple Day on May 29 is the one that links history, ancient beliefs and an ecological phenomenon.

Oak Apple Day commemorates May 29, 1660: the restoration of the monarchy and the reinstatement of Charles II on his birthday. Thousands of oaks were planted around England and village trees were "dressed" or decorated to show allegiance to their king. In the Shropshire village of Aston on Clun, Oak Apple Day later became Arbor Day and each year the village tree is dressed with flags and children re-enact a famous local wedding of 1786.

In Castleton, Derbyshire, May 29 is called Garland Day. The Garland king is mounted on a horse and hidden inside a bell-shaped frame covered in flowers, crowned by the Queen Poscy. After a procession and dancing through the streets, the Garland frame is hoisted up on top of the church steeple and surrounded by oak branches.

These relics of once widespread country customs are the remains of pagan fertility rituals. Charles II's appropriation of the oak as a royal symbol was calculated to tap into an ancient wellspring of belief that was closely related to the rhythms of nature and charged with a powerful sexuality. The importance of the oak as a symbol of the sun, of strength and masculine potency is well known. But if the king had been aware of what "oak apples" really were, he might have been disappointed.

The Jacobites and Royalists commemorated the restoration of the monarchy by wearing sprigs of oak containing "oak-apples". These faintly disguised testicular symbols are not fruits but galls. An oak gall wasp, *Biorhiza pallida*, lays her eggs in an oak bud. The colony of larvae cause the bud tissue to swell into a brown ball, at times almost as large as a tennis ball. In August and September the larvae pupate, emerge and mate. The females then descend the tree, burrow down to its roots and lay eggs which form root galls. These hatch into female larvae. In spring, the flightless females emerge, climb up the tree and lay eggs — without the need of males — into the buds to form oak apples.



ILLUSTRATION: BARRY LARKING

Another gall forms on oak flowers. Currant galls, so called because of their shape and colour, formed by the wasp *Neuroterus quercus baccarum*, can be found in late spring as the catkins fall. There are 40 species of oak gall wasps in Britain. At a time when conservationists are concerned with the loss of species, four or five new species from the Continent have arrived over the past 40 years.

Each oak gall wasp has some variation on the two-gall, two-year life cycle. Interestingly, the offspring resemble their grandparents, and the colonies in separate parts of the tree are genetically distinct. All this is achieved with little involvement from male sexuality, so famously personified by the oak tree.

As plant gall expert Peter Shirley says: "Male sexuality, particularly in insects, is of marginal importance in nature. Perhaps maleness is a side road in evolutionary terms."

So much for the potency of kings.

For further information contact: Dr C Leach, British Plant Gall Society, (+44) 116 271 4297

## Chess Leonard Barden

*FORGET* comparisons with the first human on the moon or the summit of Everest. Garry Kasparov was the superior of IBM's Deep Blue computer for long periods of their controversial man-versus-machine match, but became a victim of his own propaganda that he was the last defender of mankind against robots.

Kasparov has always lived on his nerves during tournaments, but six games containing a fingerslip, a resignation when there was a forced draw, plus two failures to win good positions, suggest excessive tension. And that, in turn, sparked his paranoid hints that IBM boffins were tampering with the machine during games, contradicting his own pre-match interviews, of having only 10 days to prepare.

The United States grandmaster Ron Henley was nearer the mark when he said that "the reason Garry lost was that he was untrue to himself, his character and his reputation. He psyched himself out with his anti-computer strategy, and was unable to play to his full potential and genius."

And so to the fatal sixth game, which in terms of Kasparov's previous career stands out like a sore thumb.

His worst previous loss in classical chess as a grandmaster was in 31 moves to Karpov in their 1984-85 marathon, while the only previous player to defeat him twice during a set match was also Karpov.

**Deep Blue v Kasparov, game 6**

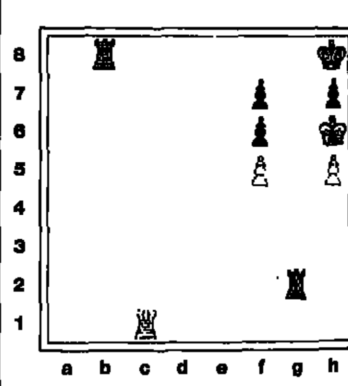
**1 e4 c6 2 d4 d5 3 Nc3 dxe4 4 Nxe4 Nd7 5 Ng5 Nf6 6 Bd3 e6 7 N1f3 h6?** This was almost certainly a fingerslip, which is so easy to do when you make a series of book opening moves on autopilot. 7 . . . Bd6 8 Qe2 h6 is a current book line and Chess Informant 68, the digest of late-1996 GM play, quotes four recent examples in two of which the world top-ten-ranked Karpov and Ivanchuk play Black. On the other hand, 7 . . . h6 has been considered for more than a decade as at best highly risky and at worst losing due to the knight sacrifice which Deep Blue now makes instantaneously.

**8 Nxe6! Qe7** fxe6 9 Bg6+ driving the BK to e7 is worse. **9 0-0 fxe6** Obviously Qxe6?? fails to 10 Re1. **10 Bg6+ Kd8 11 Bf4 b5** If you don't credit the fingerslip theory, then this move was Kasparov's prepared idea. One of the stem games of 8 Nxe6, Geller v Meduna, Sochi 1986, continued Qb4 12 a3 Qxb2 13 Qe2 Nd5 14 Bd2 Bd6? and now 15 c4! gives White a great advantage since Nf4 16 Qe4 Nxg6 17 Rfb1 wins the queen.

**12 a4 Bb7 13 Re1 Nd5 14 Bg3 Kc8** Black may be a knight up, but his army is totally uncoordinated. **15 axb5 cxb5 16 Qd3 Bc6 17 Bf5! exf5** Giving up the queen. If Nc7 18 Bxc7 Kxc7 19 Rxe6 Qf7 20 Rxc6+!

**18 Rxe7 Bxe7 19 c4! Resigns** If bxc4, 20 Qxc4 Kb7 21 Qa6 is checkmate, while Nb4 20 Qxf5 bxc4 21 Ne5 sets up too many threats.

**No 2475**



Edward Lasker v Lewett, Hamburg 1910. Black (to move) is a rook and pawn up, but White has hidden resources and Lasker drew. Can you do better?

**No 2474:** 1 . . . Ng4 2 h3(2 Bxe7!) Nh2!! favours Black. If 3 R or Nxh2 Bxg5, Black has the bishop pair while the h file stays closed, while 2 Bxe7 Nxf3+ 3 gxf3 Qxe7 gives White weak doubled pawns.

## Quick crossword no. 369

**Across**

5 Dead end branch of river, Australia (9)
8 Renown (4)
9 Second largest Channel Island (8)
10 Division of the year (6)
11 Hard-baked sweetmeat (6)
13 Influence (6)
15 Mourn (6)
16 Italian city — girl (8)
18 Metal fixing pin (4)
19 Narrow strip of land, almost an island (9)

**Down**

1 One permitted to sell alcoholic drinks (8)
2 Large bottle (6)
3 Purpose (6)
4 Soon — in short, nameless (4)
6 Cataract (9)
7 Artificial lake (9)
12 Amicable (8)
14 Gland at root of tongue (6)
15 Agrees (anag) — a well-known film (6)
17 Lively dance (4)

**Last week's solution**

## Bridge Zia Mahmood

*DEEP* **Blue's victory over chess world champion Garry Kasparov is the first time since the mid-eighties that a human world champion has been beaten at an intellectual sport by a machine (at backgammon, incidentally). So what are the prospects that it could happen next at bridge?**

**A few years ago, I was confident that no programme could be devised that would play bridge even to the standard of the good club player, never mind a world champion. Having seen GIB (Goren In A Box) I'm no longer so sure. Written by mathematical genius Matthew Ginsberg, GIB is a huge advance over previous bridge programmes, and has adopted the same approach as Deep Blue: instead of trying to "teach" the programme the techniques and subtleties of the game, GIB is built around the principle known as "brute force look-ahead". In essence, it looks at the current position, deals the unknown cards at random and plays out the hand, then repeats this exercise a few million times in about a second-and-a-half, and picks the line of play that worked best on average. It may sound crude, but the computations involved are mind-bogglingly complex.**

**Watch GIB at work on this deal, and tremble for the human race:**

North
♠9 7
♥A Q 8 5 3
♦J 9 7
♣K 9 7

West
♠8 6 5
♥10 4
♦Q 6 5 4 3 2
♣J 8

East
♠K Q J 4 2
♥K 7 2
♦10
♣Q 10 3 2

South
♠A 10 3
♥J 9 6
♦A K 8
♣A 6 5 4

| South | West | North | East |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | | 1♠ |
| 1NT | Pass | 2♦ | Pass |
| 2♥ | Pass | 3NT | Pass |
| 4♥ | Pass | Pass | Pass |

**West led the five of spades to East's jack, which GIB ducked. East switched to the ten of diamonds. How would you have played from this point?**

**GIB recognised that East's switch was likely to be a singleton. Since that marked West with the queen of diamonds, East had to have the king of hearts for the opening bid, and had to find some means of disposing of the losing diamond. So the programme won the diamond switch with the ace and played ace and another heart. East won with the king and played the king of spades, which GIB won with the ace. It ruffed a spade in dummy, exhausting West of the suit, then drew the last trump with its jack in hand. Next, it led a low club to the eight and king, then led the nine of clubs from dummy and ducked the trick to West (East would achieve nothing by going in with the queen, for then GIB could establish the six by force). With only diamonds in his hand, West had to lead away from the queen, and GIB had made its contract. Of course, if West had held five diamonds and three clubs, he could have exited with a club — but as GIB had calculated, the suit would then have divided 3-3, and dummy's losing diamond could be discarded on the long club.** ©



**Letter from São Paulo** Fran Weaver

# Burning rubber

*THE RODOVIA* Presidente Castelo Branco is a particularly nasty stretch of motorway, named after the first of a series of military dictators who ruled Brazil for more than 20 years after the 1964 coup. It leads out of São Paulo towards what is still known as "the interior", passing a towering, though mysteriously anonymous monolithic monument, before cutting through several large chaotic towns and a handful of well-to-do suburbs on the fringes of the giant conurbation, home to a more than 18 million souls.

The motorway is one of the most congested in the world, with frequent tailbacks of up to 25km. There is no feasible alternative route for us from our home in the safe haven of the walled-in garden suburb of Alphaville into town, so we have to use this manic motorway about twice a week. Channel 32 on local cable TV is devoted 24 hours a day to a view of the state of the traffic, and electronic signs on the road on to the motorway warn of jams or slow traffic. But we have still spent many hours fuming in the fumes. The local media are obsessed by the various schemes to improve traffic congestion but the most effective measure has been simply to ban cars with certain registration numbers on certain days during the worst periods of air pollution.

The traffic is intolerably heavy at the best of times and there are no clear lane markings on the potholed surface, so drivers weave in and out searching for the best way through, often deliberately racing other vehicles for the sheer hell of it, never bothering to indicate or use mirrors and overtaking on either side. Motorcyclists clad only in T-shirts and shorts casually risk their lives as they cut through the clogged-up traffic. Heavy lorries, overburdened with perilous loads, rumble by shrouded in thick black fumes. Coaches roar past, then suddenly swing across to informal bus stops on the hard shoulder. Burnt out and twisted wrecks of cars litter the roadside, with accidents causing jams on the opposite carriageway as drivers slow down to try to get a glimpse of the all-too-frequent corpses. Roadside vendors stake their claims early in the day to sell orange or sugar-cane juice to people stuck in the jams. Loose horses regularly canter over the Tarmac.

Pedestrians have no choice but to risk life and limb attempting to cross the eight lanes should they need to get to the other side. Incredibly, joggers can be seen huffing and puffing by — often overtaking many of the vehicles. Countless small boys fly kites on the grass verges, and football games are played on the central reservation where it widens between the carriageways.

Much of the way the river Tiete flows alongside the Castelo Branco, its viscous brown waters giving off the foul stench of the untreated sewage of millions of the area's residents. Municipal waste water treatment projects are a long way behind schedule. From the rubbish-strewn surface of the water it seems to be constantly raining, but the ripples are caused by bubbles of hydrogen sulphide rising up from the river's putrid depths.

Several pieces of undesirable property around the motorway and the river are occupied by small *favelas*, the groups of shacks thrown together from any material to hand, which house new arrivals in the big city. Thankfully, there are now fewer than during the height of the city's growth in the eighties when it was estimated that half a million people a year migrated into the area. These people have virtually nothing, while people from the other end of the income scale cruise by in their sleek cars, only a few metres away but a world apart.

This proximity of the have-nots is inevitably a threat to the haves, and a potential source of violence. Residents of Alphaville can pay a hefty annual fee to join an SOS scheme. Should your vehicle break down, a discreet sticker on the back windscreen will alert one of three patrol vans which permanently shuttle up and down the motorway to rescue the besieged occupants and remove them to a "safe area", and then worry about repairing or recovering whatever may remain of the car.

Strangely, a small part of this highway of horrors gives me a homesick lump in my throat. Longings for my old Mancunian haunts are stirred up at exit 17, where a rusty green sign points to a district called Rochdale.

# Relay women reach Pole

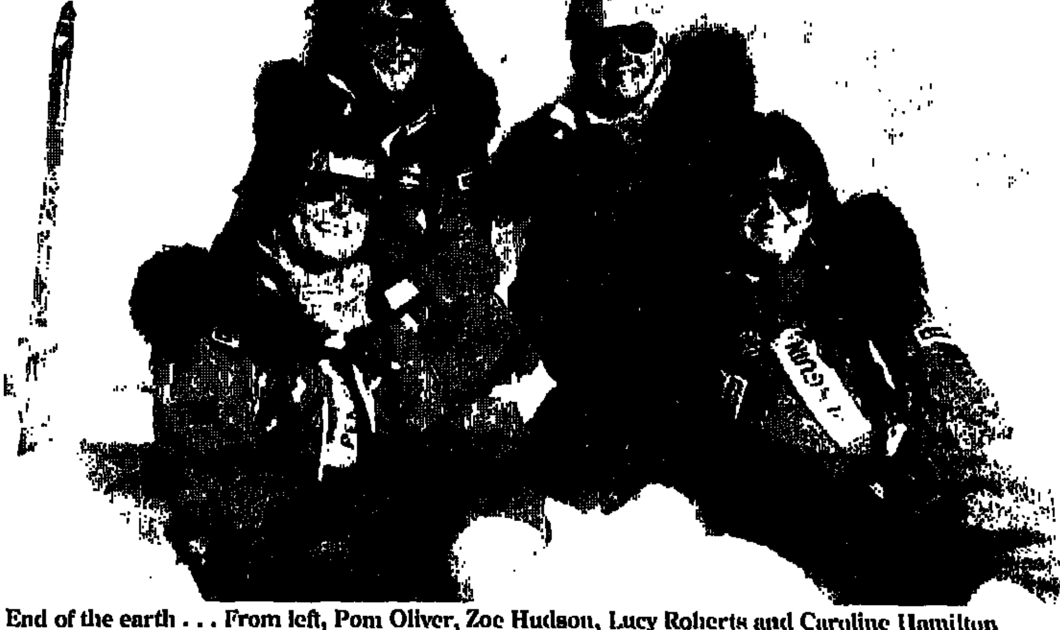
**Nick Varley**

*MEMBERS* of a British expedition were last week celebrating becoming the first all-woman group to reach the North Pole.

Four women, the last of five relay teams, reached their destination after walking 230km in 10 days.

The achievement was hailed as a breakthrough for women. But Robert Swan, who in 1989 became the first person to walk to both poles, questioned whether the increasing number of expeditions was necessary. "There is a trend which will see people saying, 'I was the first to do it backwards, with my arms tied behind my back.' There are some genuine firsts remaining, particularly for women, and especially solo women. But rather than just doing 'firsts', shouldn't we be using the trips to conduct research on the melting ice-caps and so on?"

The Guinness Book Of Records said it would not be noting the women's effort. A spokeswoman said: "Basically this is a 'first attempt', and we are not particularly interested in first attempts. There are some firsts in the book, but in general we are interested in records."



End of the earth . . . From left, Pom Oliver, Zoe Hudson, Lucy Roberts and Caroline Hamilton

Even so, the last four women, plus two American women guides who completed the entire 1,000-km walk, were celebrating with champagne flown in from their Canadian base camp along with other group members, family and friends. Their spokeswoman, Mary Nicholson, said the final team was "just jubilant" at reaching its goal and planting a Union Jack.

The final team included the expedition leader, Caroline Hamilton, a film financier. Others of the women, aged between 21 and 50, included teachers, an air stewardess, a police officer, and a designer. They were chosen from applicants after training sessions on Dartmoor in Devon and the Brecon Beacons in Wales.

The expedition was not without drama: the penultimate team, which included the Queen Mother's great niece, Rosie Clayton, aged 37, spent four days and nights on drifting ice at the end of their leg before an aircraft rescued them.

## Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

***SUPPOSE* you could fool enough people into queueing around a building in a continuous loop. Would the queue occasionally jump forward as usual or would it do something else?**

*AT FIRST* the queuers would be standing still, and so they would remain for ever if they all had infinite patience, gullibility and endurance. In practice, after some time a few individuals here and there would give up and leave, opening up gaps in the queue, which would then start jumping forward as usual. However, the movement of the queue would soon make those remaining aware that they were going around in an endless loop. At that point, presumably, they would stop queueing and start looking for the questioner in order to express their appreciation of the joke. — *Stephen Shenfield, Providence, Rhode Island, USA*

*IF THE* people are British, they will stay until the free ice-creams run out. — *Robert Pedersen, Saint Privat, France*

***WHAT* became of Black, Asian and Arabic people in Nazi-occupied Europe during the war?**

*PETER TERRY* is wrong in saying Indian soldiers from prisoner-of-war camps in Europe were recruited to form an Indian brigade to fight the Allies (May 11). It was in southeast Asia that some Indian PoWs were prevailed upon by Subhas Chandra Bose — one of the most popular political leaders of the Indian freedom movement — to desert their units after the fall of Singapore and join the so-called Indian National Army. They marched with the Japanese Army and were annihilated in the battle of Kohima. However, most Indian soldiers remained loyal to their regiments and suffered imprisonment. In Europe, the Indian prisoners of war underwent the same fate as their British and American counterparts. — *Captain Narendra Phanse (Retd), Elstree, Hertfordshire*

*THE* late Pan Africanist Congress leader (South Africa) P K Leballo told me that the Nazis recruited some African PoWs of the South African army, ostensibly for anti-colonial activities. Records show that Simon Mhlandhlana Dube, captured at Sidi Rezagh, was recruited from Stalag 7A, Moosburg, and served on the Russian Front before eventually returning to South Africa. — *Bernard Leeman, Asmara, Eritrea*

*HAMBURG*, a major harbour city, has a red light district but no Chinatown. But it did — in the Schmuckstrasse in St Pauli. In May 1944 all the Chinese in Hamburg were rounded up and transported first to the KZ Fuhlsbuettel and then to a labour camp. — *Viola Braunburg, Hamburg, Germany*

## Any answers

***HOW* much exercise does an average person need to gain a reasonable degree of fitness?** — *David Bogle, Aberdeen*

***HOW* do you solve a cryptic crossword? Does it take a certain illogical way of thinking or am I just, basically, blind to the obvious?** — *Jane Welling, Yueyang, China*

***HOW* does a gun silencer work?** — *Ewan Thomson, London*

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/+44171-242-0985, or posted to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farringdon Road, London EC1M 3HQ.

# A Country Diary

**John Vallins**

***SOMERSET:* From some quarters one gets the impression that there is nowadays no room for sentiment in agriculture, that the cold calculation of yields, grants and subsidies is the essence of the job. But now I have met a happy farmer with 130 beef cattle — Limousins, Simmenthals and Charolais — 80 breeding ewes, and 100 acres of cereal, who has started raising ostriches, not, as he vehemently stresses, because of any anxiety about the long-term British beef market, in which he has every confidence, but because he likes trying something different, and because, when he first took a close look at an ostrich, its long eye-lashes reminded him of his youthful dreams of beautiful girls.**

**Country life has not become purely a matter of commercial calculation after all, though sentiment does have to be underpinned with effectiveness. Young ostriches do indeed look beautiful, but raising them is a demanding and complex technical operation. A redundant farm-building was refurbished and equipped with hi-tech humidifier, incubator and 12-egg hatcher; it looks like a research laboratory. Eggs were bought in and meticulously tended for the 42 days it takes till a chick emerges. The failure rate can be high. One daughter of the house proved expert at "reading" the eggs and another at baby-sitting. Nelson, a young adult bird with one eye and a crooked beak, surprisingly survived.**

**The investment has been substantial and it will take time for the returns to come in. An important part of the calculation is that most of the feed (wheat, barley, oats and peas) is home-grown. The target is to achieve successful breeding trios — one male and two females. These would be a sound commercial proposition. The birds dislike high winds and hate to be enclosed, but you can see that they are comfortable here, and when they run they are a fine sight.**

Janet Suzman tells **Lyn Gardner** about taking an adapted Chekhov on a psychological journey to South Africa

# Experiment in elasticity

*DEMOCRACY* isn't always easy to get used to: sometimes it has to be learned. As the new South Africa is discovering through the Truth Commission, lancing the national boil can be extremely painful.

"There are millions of people who will need a lifetime on the psychiatrist's couch to get rid of the poison," says Janet Suzman, the South African-born actress, director and writer. "Now the white burden of guilt about apartheid has been lifted, some are pretending it never happened. Apartheid? What apartheid? Denial is even stronger than it was in Germany after Hitler."


'God spare us from Chekhovian acting,' says Janet Suzman

It was the psychological journey at the heart of Anton Chekhov's The Cherry Orchard, a drama in which the protagonists have to learn painfully and slowly how to relinquish their way of life, that attracted Suzman to the idea of transposing the play to modern South Africa. It has taken seven years and a change of government for the project to bloom; it opened at Birmingham Rep last week and will tour South Africa next year.

This will not be the first time Chekhov has gone to Africa. An Afrikaans version of The Seagull was staged in Pretoria a few years ago, and before the end of apartheid Michael Picardie wrote The Cape Orchard. Chekhov's plays seem to lend themselves to transposition across national boundaries and cultures.

Suzman, who in recent years has largely forsaken acting for directing, has no truck with those who object to mucking about with the classics. "The plays are in translation anyway," she says. "They belong as much to the translators as the playwright. Why not brush the cobwebs away?" In South Africa, she recently directed The Good Woman Of Sharksville, a new black musical version of Brecht's The Good Woman Of Szechuan.

What we definitely won't be seeing from The Cherry Orchard's predominantly South African-born cast is the kind of melancholic, rainy-day approach to Chekhov so beloved of British actors and directors. "God spare us from Chekhovian acting," says Suzman.

Seven years ago, when Suzman first discussed doing a version of The Cherry Orchard with Barney Simon, co-founder of the Market Theatre of Johannesburg, neither really expected it to happen in their lifetime. And for Simon it didn't. The man who helped make the Market Theatre the unofficial national theatre of South Africa died shortly after Mandela became president.

"Barney was such a guru figure to me," recalls Suzman. "We talked so much about this play and the implications of transposing it to South Africa. Then just when the old order was swept away and it became possible to do, he died. Suddenly doing this play was unfinished business. I just had to do it."

In late 1995, Roger Martin, an English actor with a strong interest in South Africa, showed Suzman his version of The Cherry Orchard. It is on this that Suzman has built her own production, which is being co-produced by the Market Theatre. What is fascinating about Suzman's version is just how much has been changed while retaining the heart and soul of the original. "It is an experiment in elasticity," she says.

So Lyuba Ranyevskaya's dilapidated provincial Russian estate becomes the Orange Free State home of Lulu Raademeye, the widow of an Afrikaans dissident who found apartheid abhorrent and whose legacy is an adopted "coloured" daughter, Maria (Varya in the original), and a house opened to black friends, such as the businessman Lebaka, who eventually buys the cherry orchard.

"We are so used to talking about the stereotypes when we talk of South Africa," says Suzman. "We see white as bad and black as good, but the fabric of the place was always shot through with exceptions. There were always Afrikaners who saw apartheid as a shame, whites who adopted black babies, newspapers that spoke out against apartheid and continued to publish throughout all those years."

It is these examples of the unexpected and the apparent contradictions within South African society that Suzman aims to bring out in her Cherry Orchard. But the play also gets to grips with some of the most difficult issues facing the country: liberal guilt, the problem of "coloureds", who were not white enough for the old South Africa and are not black enough for the new, and the restoration of tribal homelands. When Suzman's Lebaka buys the cherry orchard, he is not only fulfilling a personal dream but also restoring the land that once belonged to his people, the land that was stolen by white settlers.

This political dimension becomes thrillingly urgent when transposed to post-apartheid South Africa. "In the original," explains Suzman, "a feudal system remains intact, so the servants are in and out of the house. That couldn't happen in South Africa, so I constantly had to make subtle adjustments — even about how people would end up in a room together. I've also developed it in the two opposing black viewpoints expressed by Lebaka and Pitso [the student Trofimov in Chekhov's original], the young black ANC operative who was trained in Moscow."

What South Africans will make of the production remains to be seen, but it is likely to be more accessible than some of the work that has previously made the journey from Britain to South Africa. Suzman says: "I see what I am doing as only an interim measure until the new South Africa gets its own contemporary Chekhov. But new work does not spring up like grass — it needs time to develop."

So do revolutions. As Esmeralda Bihl, the young South African actress who plays Maria, says: "People call it the new South Africa; in fact, it is very like the old South Africa. We are still moving towards the new South Africa. It takes time." Listen for the creak of falling trees.

# Dishing dirt on Clean Harry

CINEMA
**Derek Malcolm**

*ABSOLUTE POWER* is absolute tosh. But as tosh goes, it suffices. It's a political thriller, and you can believe anything of politicians nowadays. Even that the president of the United States could have a sado-masochistic liaison with the young wife of a wealthy old Washington insider. Even that he'd then have her killed and the body dumped for the sake of his career.

This is what Clint Eastwood's new film asserts. It also has the added advantage of his grizzled self as a veteran burglar. Performing one last, magnificent heist in the same house, Eastwood watches the murder through two-way mirrors. Of course, he can't believe his eyes when the seducer turns out to be the president, grovelling about on the floor with the seducee. But, when the White House chief of staff decides to blame the whole thing on him, there's a certain resignation in his attitude. As Mandy Rice-Davies once said, "They would, wouldn't they?"

This first section of the film is rather good — tightly directed and acted with some aplomb by Eastwood as the wary burglar, Gene Hackman as the nasty-minded president, Melora Hardin as the unfaithful wife and Judy Davis as the eccentric chief of staff who bursts in unawares.

Thereafter things begin to fall apart, and not slowly. Eastwood's character at first decides to leave the country as soon as possible. But he's furious when he sees the president on television offering insincere condolences to E G Marshall's cuckolded insider. Besides, if he went abroad he'd have to leave the daughter (Laura Linney) whom he never got to know properly during his years in prison.

So, as a sort of Clean Harry, he decides to stay around and face the music, in particular, Ed Harris's investigating detective.

Improbability then piles upon impossibility as the plot, taken by no less a figure than William Goldman from David Badacci's best-selling novel, wavers between providing a suitably mythic, if flawed, figure for Eastwood and underlining our cynicism about politics and politicians in general.

The best thing in the film, however, is not Eastwood's direction or acting but Davis's tongue-in-cheek performance as the fanatically loyal and possibly lovelorn chief-of-staff. She clearly thinks it's only worth playing half-seriously. And so it is.

Eastwood's direction is competent. He knows how to shoot a scene with economy and good sense. What he and his highly skilled actors can't do is to turn a sow's ear of a plot and screenplay into anything like a silk purse.

Films that glorify food — Babette's Feast, Eat Drink, Man Woman, etc — don't have to be great to make an impression. We do like to slaver. But Stanley Tucci and Campbell Scott's **Big Night**, like the two examples cited, does rather more than pander to the stomach. It may seem unforceful dramatically, but it creeps up on you unawares.

It's the late fifties in a small New Jersey town. Primo Pileggi (Tony Shalhoub), aesthete chef, and Secondo (Tucci), commercially-minded manager, open a restaurant specialising in authentic Italian food. It's a hard job because Pascal's is virtually next door and gives the customers their spaghetti and pasta in a much more glitzy atmosphere.

Pascal (Ian Holm) seems very decent about the situation. He says the Pileggi brothers can work for him if they want and, if not, he'll help them by getting bandleader Louis Prima to come to their opening night. We watch as a lavish meal is meticulously prepared and await Prima's entrance. Meanwhile Secondo is having an affair with Pascal's mistress (Isabella Rossellini), and his girl (Minnie Driver) finds out. And the duplicitous Pascal never invited Prima to the feast.


Absolute tosh . . . Veteran burglar Clint Eastwood protects his daughter Kate, played by Laura Linney

The film is as obsessive about its style as Primo is about preparing his timpano. Tucci and Scott seem to watch the proceedings without comment, and mostly without background music.

They are also unafraid of long takes — the last of which sums up everything. Secondo carefully and mournfully prepares a breakfast omelette (in real time) and shares it with his brother. You assume they'll go on trying, despite their differences. But you are left unsure.

Intelligently written and acted particularly by Shalhoub, Big Night is a comedy about an era and its immigrants as well as food. It cooks up something rather special.

**The Spitfire Grill** is also one of those US independent films that tries hard to be true to life and likeable at the same time. But, unlike Big Night, it irritates in the attempt.

A debut written and directed by Lee David Zlotoff, it has female bonding as its thrust and some terribly sincere direction to persuade us further of its merits.

Alison Elliott plays a young woman, just released from jail for manslaughter, who arrives penniless and homeless in one of Maine's more backward communities and is given a job waitressing in the local diner. All human life is at the Spitfire Grill, most of them wanting to know about the poor girl's questionable past. But the irascible though kindly proprietor (Ellen Burstyn) has a secret of her own, leaving a bag of canned food outside the Grill each night for a wild, bearded man.

There is a hint of Cold Comfort Café about this tale, though mainly of a thousand other American stories about redemption and the bonds of womanly friendship. But there is a genuine attempt to paint the perfidious local community unsentimentally. If the film wasn't so determined to show us that its heart is in the right place, it would have been better.



Sandra Three, with centrepiece entitled The Killer-Critic Assassinated by his Widower, Even, and (right) Kitaj with his late wife, the artist Sandra Fisher, who died in 1994 MAIN PHOTOGRAPH. GRAHAM TURNER

# Kitaj shock at Royal Academy

**Dan Glaister**

**AS A form of revenge it is both expansive and expensive. Sandra Three, by R B Kitaj, occupies an entire wall of the Royal Academy's normally sedate Summer Show and carries a price tag of £1 million.**

**The piece is the third instalment in Kitaj's aim to exact revenge on the critics he says helped to bring about the death of his wife Sandra Fisher in 1994.**

**Fisher, also an artist, died of a brain haemorrhage during an exhibition by Kitaj at the Tate Gallery. The show, a rare retrospective for a living artist at the Tate, had been savaged by critics, who attacked its scale and its vanity. One headline read "Great pretender", while others asserted that the show was "Constipated" and "Fake, fake, fake". The harshest criticism came from the Independent's Andrew Graham-Dixon: "The Wandering Jew, the T S Eliot of painting? Kitaj turns out, instead, to be the Wizard of Oz: a small man with a megaphone held to his lips."**

**Kitaj launched his revenge at last year's Summer Show with a piece entitled The Critic Kills. Last winter he followed it up with Sandra Two, a magazine produced in Paris. The centrepiece of Sandra Three is a painting entitled The Killer-Critic Assassinated by his Widower, Even.**

**Kitaj was invited by the academy to arrange the room in which his work hangs. The other artists represented include Richard Hamilton, Lucian Freud, David Hockney, Leon Kossoff, Peter Blake and Allen Jones. "I have invited a few of the over-the-hill gang to join me in this room because I believe in a geriatric avant-garde," Kitaj writes at the exhibition.**

**In a rare recent interview, Kitaj, who is leaving Britain to return to his native United States, attacked the response to his Tate show: "It was not art criticism but art hatred of a very personal kind, real resentment by sick hacks full of hate and self-hate."**

**Away from the controversy generated by the Kitaj, the 229th Summer Show features 1,200 pieces, including work by academicians and members of the public. Prices for the works range from £1 million for the Kitaj to £10 for Life In A Listed Building by Juliet Blaxland.**

# Stumble in the jungle

TELEVISION
**Nancy Banks-Smith**

*IN THE* jungle, the mighty jungle, Len was not sleeping tonight. "Something," he said, "was laughing like Hilda Ogden in the trees and I definitely heard something Striding Around. 'This is my manor. I'm gonna Stride Around.' A real giant's footsteps and I must have passed out. Because the only way to sleep in a hammock is to pass out." It occurred to him later, reading his malaria pills to pass the time, that one of their side effects was extreme paranoia.

Lenny's Big Amazon Adventure (BBC1) sent Lenny Henry to live in the jungle. Some people, he said, used to recommend it when he was a black kid in Dudley.

Lofty, his tattooed trainer, who was noticeably smaller than Lenny, spoke in a hoarse rumble like an old boxer calling to his mate. Mate was his favourite word. "Lenny, you've let me dahn wiv this knot ere, mate. It's a bloody Gorgon's 'ead." Lenny could soon do Lofty to the life. Lofty, who was steeped in the lore of the jungle ("No defecating up stream!") found Lenny's contact lenses and guitar a trial. He tried to interest him in eating wood. "Take the soft bit in the middle. 'Ave a taste, mate. Nah, tell me you don't like it." A brief silence, fell which is unusual for the rain forest. The trouble with the country, as any city dweller will confirm, is the noise.

Eventually Lenny had to leave Lofty's solicitous care.

"I guess I'll be OK," he said doubtfully. "WHAT'S THAT THING! Every branch on the floor looks like a snake. Apparently they don't eat you or anything unless they're frightened."

Or hungry.

The sun sank like a barley sugar drop and the moon rose like a curiously strong mint. Your mind tends to dwell on food in the jungle.

Half way through Martin Bell's campaign, Paramount rang, inquiring about the film rights.

Sylvester Stallone to play Bell, obviously, but who has the bounce to play Mrs Hamilton? Last Sunday she made ITV's religious programme newsworthy — a feat hitherto believed impossible — by bursting into Gloria Hunniford's dressing room and snatching her notes. Scattering blusher, Gloria leaped up and snatched them back. (Gloria will play Gloria or want to know the reason why.) Mr Bell Goes to Westminster (BBC2), an account of the Tatton campaign, began well and got better by the minute.

It started on a popular note with Bell's unexpurgated opinion of the BBC ("Bastards! Bastards!"). To avoid any hint of partiality, they filmed him struggling ("If that's BBC journalism, well, fuck 'em!") Mark you, at this point Bell was up against it. "We never had a machine," he said later, "but we had a contraption."

Hamilton hit him with Matthew on whited sepulchres (understood to refer to the suit). Bell responded with Exodus ("What's Exodus?" asked Melissa, his decorative daughter).

Hamilton reached for his lawyers. Judge Pickles backed Bell. He said, "The only constituency I would have said that rather appalling man, Neil Hamilton, is fit to represent might be the unfortunate of Wormwood Scrubs. Some," added the judge, waving his eyebrows, "would say that he ought to be inside there."

Bell won by 10,000 votes. Paramount were ecstatic. Hamilton was pale with flop sweat. His wife shot a concerned glance sideways. They were so invariably shoulder to shoulder that at times they looked like a two-headed creature.

In fairness to the bastards, by the way, they made this film.

Frances Partridge is 97 and has as sharp an eye for detail as a bird has for seed. She alone was worth the price of admission to **Reputations: Bertrand Russell** (BBC2).

Here she is on the muse Lady Ottoline Morrell, Russell's first grand passion. "She was somewhere between beauty and being too fantastic for beauty. She was tall. She had a very fine figure." The camera lingered up the length of Lady Ottoline.

"She had a mass, *a mane* of orange hair. She wore the most extraordinary clothes. She had a very odd chin and a nose that came out in a queer way. Her voice I won't try to imitate, but it was rather like *horse*. There was something of a *neigh* in it."

The more you looked at Lady Ottoline, the more you saw a *horse* in a hat.

Frances did imitate Lady Ottoline's drawl, and your skin crawled. This woman knew that woman. Lady Ottoline died 60 years ago. Photographs show us how she looked, but only Frances Partridge knows how she sounded.

If you don't want people to talk about you when you're gone, you'd better shoot the women before you go. There were several men in the film — eminent academic authorities — but it was the women who made the cast come alive.

It was a magnificent film, and often lovely to look at. Russell lived in some strikingly beautiful places, usually with the soothing sobbing of women in the background.

Just now and then it was wryly funny. His son ("induced a week early to spare Bertie's nerves") was ruthlessly bullied at his progressive school, founded in the faith that children are naturally good.

Sometimes you seemed to be watching from a long way away.

# Eccentrics on parade

DANCE
**Judith Mackrell**

*ALAIN PLATEL'S* La Tristeza Complice at the Queen Elizabeth Hall, London could, snappily, be described as a show about eccentric street characters whose antics are accompanied by a band of accordionists playing melodious arrangements of Purcell. Yet to suggest that this is some modern *commedia dell'arte*, full of piquant humour and lovable local colour, would be as wrong as you could be about its cast of scabby derelicts, camping in an abandoned building site.

Among them is a stringy-haired transvestite with the saddest blue eyeshadow, who seeks to console himself with any and every available body. There's a psychotic kid who kicks whatever defenceless arse he can find, and a shabby middle-aged lady who dreamily sings the selection of Purcell songs and arias which make up the score.

In fact, during its first half hour, the work comes worryingly close to being a freak show. When the transvestite dances a dysfunctional duet with a terminally angry young woman, the heroic, heartbreaking accompaniment of Dido's Lament comes across as harsh irony.

Yet as the work evolves you notice painfully vivid scenes being played out on the edges of the stage. A blank-faced woman becomes agitated when she notices her boyfriend has pissed in his trousers. As she mops him up, the dazed gratitude in his eyes and the anguish of her gestures reveal piteous life stories that are all the more moving because no one has tried to nail them down in words.

You notice too what remarkable actors these are, and how pointed Platel's direction, for out of tiny details of body language emerge real characters. As soon as we are hooked Platel lets loose the pain and anger of these lost lives. As his characters spew despair and dance together in tightly abusive routines, they triumphantly become people as interesting and tragic as any mythological queen.

Addicts of world-class dancing will always find a home with Nederlands Dans Theater. Not only does it run a company of 33 fabulously skilled dancers from around the globe; it also has a star ensemble of fortysomethings (NDT3) and the exemplary youth company NDT2 — a startling group of 17- to 22-year-olds now being groomed for the fast track of NDT1.

At the head of the stable is Jiri Kylian, whose works, alongside pieces by his protégé choreographers, dominate the repertory. For Kylian fans this is as it should be. But those less keen on solemnity and gimmicky symbolism may find programmes like that being toured by NDT2 hard to digest. The show may be a thrilling showcase for the pliant articulation and eager thrust of young dancing, but it also makes us nervous about wasted talent.

When, for instance, NDT2 perform Kylian's Songs Of A Wayfarer we rarely see them animated with the urgency of youthful desire. We see beautiful dancers stretching through choreography so fluent as to be almost glib. Only with the final couple, Chisato Ohno and Fabrice Mazliah, does the smoothness snag on real physical passion.

# Swede memories of innocence

**Tim Adams**

American Pastoral
by Philip Roth
Jonathan Cape 432pp £15.99

*HAVING* spent a good part of two decades scrutinising his imagination, examining its origins and doubting, obsessively, its integrity Philip Roth, now in his mid-sixties, seems determined simply to employ his gift in all its extraordinary vigour. Hard at the heels of Sabbath's Theater, and its remarkable whoring hero, the great pretender has, with American Pastoral, produced his second masterpiece within two years.

We open in familiar Roth territory: Newark, New Jersey; and a half-lit age of post-war hopefulness. The focus of optimism and energy, at least in Newark's Weequahic High School, rests in the frame of Seymour "Swede" Levov: a blond-haired, blue-eyed Jew, effortless star of every sport he plays.

Unlike many of Roth's characters, raging for their slice of the American pie, the Swede, with his Waspish looks and his corporeal brilliance, is at liberty to gain access to the nation's dreams by conventional means: through prowess on the ball park. Thus he inherits and expands his father's glove-making business, marries the shiksa Dawn Dwyer — Miss New Jersey 1949 — buys a smallholding upstate and prepares for the simple successes to which he appears born. But — this being a Roth novel — "Simple is never that simple". And — this being a Roth novel — at least some of the complexity comes from the rigmarole of unreliable narration.

The story of Seymour Levov is told in the voice of Nathan Zuckerman, Roth's longtime alter ego. Zuckerman cherishes schoolboy memories of the inscrutable Levov; when he runs into him in post-prostate life there seem to be no cracks in the myth. It is only later, when he meets the Swede's brother at a high-school reunion, and he is informed how the Swede died in despair, that he begins to imagine below the surface. Thus what we get is archetypal blandness (Levov) viewed by exaggerated consciousness (Zuckerman); a fantasy of threatened innocence as viewed by all-knowing experience.

The author has long been preoccupied with the tyrannies our bodies hold over us; for Portnoy it was the dictatorship of an over-eager right hand; Zuckerman of The Anatomy Lesson was, like Roth himself, a hostage to worn vertebrae; this time, however, it is the very physical perfection of the Levovs that apparently sets in motion the events that leads to the destruction of all that they love.

For a while though it is the American pastoral dream, the dream that is encapsulated in the Swede, who needs nothing more in his life than to "stride" his own 100 acres, hand-in-hand with his own daughter, Merry, to their own village store.

At first the single tiny flaw in this world is that the daughter suffers from a speech impediment, which, according to her therapist, is an expression of her inadequacy beside her all-too-idyllic parents. The personality disorder that creates the stammer, however, becomes something far more alarming, and that pastoral dream is comprehensively dismantled, cliché by cliché, when, at the age of 16, Merry reduces the village store to rubble with high explosives as part of an obscure protest against the Vietnam war.

*AFTER* the bomb, which kills a family friend, all hell breaks loose for the Swede. His daughter disappears and, in his mind, becomes responsible for all of the Weathermen-inspired mayhem of the late sixties.

Roth has long been a master of the rip-tide dynamics of mania; but here, for the most part, he details the studied avoidance of conflict: the strategies by which Levov continues to make sense of the world.

Indeed there is an Updike-like preoccupation with surface and process. But this is also Rabbit Angstrom as conceived by Philip Roth, and eventually his comfort zone is stripped away to reveal places of unimagined filth (this reaches its apotheosis when, overcome by the stench of the unwashed daughter he has come to rescue, Levov vomits in her face).

As the Swede's brother later yells, in a vintage two-page Rothian rant: "You wanted Miss America? Well, you've got her, with a vengeance — she's your daughter! The reality of this place is right in your kisser now! America Amok! America Amuck!"

Despite its insistence on the more extreme degradations of modern America, however, American Pastoral is no simple satire on the bucolic delusions of the suburban middle class; far more of its anger is in fact directed against the freedoms of the permissive society.

Roth's narrative tricksiness serves to hold our sympathies for these attitudes in perfect uneasy balance. Few writers are capable of raising themselves to the technical heights achieved in the climactic scene here, a 100-page account of a dinner party; hardly any are able with such authority to measure what America has become against what it once seemed capable of.

Only this writer, however, would dare to do these things in the voice of a sentimental old Jew, smooching with a high-school sweetheart and reminiscing about his Boy's Own hero. As a result this momentous novel ends impossibly unresolved, ends in fact with the question: "And what is wrong with their life? What on earth is less reprehensible than the life of the Levovs?"

So wonders Philip Roth, all American. (For a day).

If you would like to order this book at the special price of £12.99 contact Books@The Guardian Weekly

# Hanoverian passions

**Keith Thomas**

The Pleasures of the Imagination:
English Culture in the 18th Century
by John Brewer
HarperCollins 721pp £30

*ACCORDING* to John Brewer, "high culture" was an 18th century invention. Only in the Georgian period did literature, painting, music and the theatre come to be generally accepted as the epitome of refinement and aesthetic superiority, an index of the progress of civilisation. The fine arts had a long previous history, but not until communications had improved and the middle classes had grown more affluent did high culture emancipate itself from the grip of the royal court and become an independent domain which all persons of "taste" might hope to enter.

Eighteenth century writers on aesthetics were quick to define this new world as one where truly disinterested pleasure might be achieved, untarnished by the grosser emotions of greedy sensual desire and social ambition. How wrong they were! The great lesson taught by John Brewer's huge compilation of information about the cultural life of Hanoverian England is that the new art forms were inseparably entangled with money, sex and social pretension.

Commerce gave the impetus to high culture. The 18th century was the age of Grub Street, when a horde of professional writers sought to make a living by their pens and when the periodical reviewers shaped popular taste. Literary culture became a commodity to be bought by the middle classes.

In painting, the story was the same. The art market grew increasingly active in the early Hanoverian period. The auction houses flourished and the foundation of the Royal Academy in 1768 ensured the emancipation of the professional painter from dependence upon the private patron. A new self-perpetuating élite became the arbiters of taste, with the public exhibition as the means by which their pictures were displayed and sold.

The stage was another example of commercial initiative. Just as Sir Joshua Reynolds raised the status of the painter, so David Garrick made the public theatre respectable and elevated the actor into a position of creative importance.

In music, professionalisation was slower, for the amateur tradition flourished in Georgian England and only in the 19th century did the professional orchestra establish its dominance. But hired dancing-masters, pleasure gardens and subscription concerts all showed that music was something to be paid for.

Deeply implicated in commerce, high culture was further tarnished by social pretension. The arts were used to give legitimacy to those who had made their money in baser ways. Books and pictures were bought by the yard as symbols of social superiority. Polite dress, affable conversation and a fashionable manner were highly desirable attributes for the aspiring artist; Garrick and Reynolds could not have got where they did without them.



High art, high society . . . David Garrick as Richard III, by Hogarth

Theatres and art galleries were places of social display; at concerts, audiences continued to walk about and chat during the performance.

This 18th century association between art and social competition would prove an enduring legacy. Witness today's dinner-jacketed audiences at Glyndebourne and Covent Garden.

Inevitably, the affiliation of art with the social establishment alienated the occasional genius who would not conform to the conventions. One of them was William Blake, who exclaimed bitterly that "the Enquiry in England is not whether a man has talents and Genius. But whether he is Passive and Polite & a virtuous Ass & obedient to Noblemen's Opinions in Art and Science. If he is, he is a Good Man. If not, he must be Starved."

John Brewer is a reliable guide to this dynamic world of 18th century culture. Sumptuously produced on glossy paper with abundant and excellent illustrations, his enjoyable book is essentially a work of synthesis, heavily indebted to previous authors, above all to Sir John Plumb, who long ago pioneered the study of the 18th century commercialisation of leisure.

Nevertheless it is a relief to learn that not all the well-to-do in Hanoverian England succumbed to the blandishments of high culture. A salutary reminder of where the interests of many really lay is provided by the story of the portrait painter, George Romney. In an effort to enliven the dull features of one unresponsive sitter, he "made many attempts, starting every topic of conversation; but all in vain; at length, by some uncommon chance, he happened to mention hunting; at the sound of which a ray of animation immediately sparkled in the eye of his sitter, and imparted a certain degree of vivacity on his countenance".



## Paperbacks

Nicholas Lezard

**Moon, by Jeremy Gavron (Penguin, £6.99)**

*IN WHICH* a boy growing up in 1950s Kenya befriends, and then unconsciously betrays, a gifted black man working on his father's estate. A short novel, but with all the resonance and scope of a much larger one; it captures the tone of childhood, with its mingled brutality, earnestness and innocence, with almost frightening accuracy; it doesn't deal in wisdom after the event, as other feigned post-colonial reminiscences do, but engages in its subject with a moving, almost deadpan honesty. A courageous look at the interior of a failed life. Really excellent.

**Lipstick Traces: A Secret History of the Twentieth Century, by Greil Marcus (Picador, £16.99)**

*I AM* tempted to make this Pick of the Rest of the Millennium and go on and on about it in this slot until society does the decent thing and crumbles all around us. It is a book that encourages such thoughts. First published in 1980 and yet confidently timeless, speaking for all those people who yearn not so much for an escape from time as an end to it.

A meditation sparked off by Marcus's memories of the Sex Pistols, the voice that suddenly announced, kicking into the opening verse of "Anarchy in the UK": "I am an antichrist"; "a voice", as Marcus puts it, "that denied all social facts, and in that denial affirmed that everything was possible." Marcus then goes on a harum-scarum journey through the alleyways of history, taking us back to the Situationists, the Lettrist International, the Lollards, the Cathars: "It is the devil and not God who makes the plants flower and bear grain," said one.

We are not in the company, you will gather, of utopian dreamers, but of that subset of people with an irreducible dissatisfaction with or contempt for the humdrum consensus. (It is worth remembering that the Sex Pistols burgeoned during a Labour government. I suspect that as the sheer visionary ghastliness of such notions as "communitarianism" becomes evident the conditions for an explosion of violent nihilism will obtain sooner than our post-election glow would us believe.)

This is a great book (Marcus's best), a bible of both the grandeur and futility of anti-establishment thought, impassioned, half-mad, but ferociously learned and generous, bespeaking the aggressive humanity that aligns itself with the ruled against their rulers.

If you would like to order this book at the special price of £13 contact Books@The Guardian Weekly









Aung San Suu Kyi: 'No distinction between morality and politics'

# Mother Courage

**Mary Warnock**

The Voice of Hope:
Conversations with Alan Clements
by Aung San Suu Kyi
Penguin 240pp £7.99

*AUNG* San Suu Kyi was, briefly, a pupil of mine when she was reading for the honours school of PPE at St Hugh's College, Oxford. When she arrived as an undergraduate, she had been preceded by her fame as the daughter of Aung San, a Burmese national hero, who had dedicated his life to Burmese independence from colonial status, and who had been assassinated when Suu was two years old. She was highly intelligent and articulate, though quiet and enormously polite. In the sixties, when she was at Oxford, she was totally untouched by the sexual aspirations of her friends, naive in a way, but sure-footed and direct in all her dealings. She was also extraordinarily easily amused, and found many things hilarious, not least her philosophy tutorials.

She had been brought up severely by her mother in a Buddhist tradition. Once in the course of a standard tutorial on personal identity, starting from the text of John Locke, we were considering the proposition, that one is the same person only as that person whose past acts one can remember. Suu said: "But I am my grandmother." We fell upon her with questions. She smiled, with a look of incredible mischief, and refused to be drawn.

The same humorous, enigmatic, private certainty characterises this book. It is essentially about virtue. For her, there can be no distinction between morality and politics, and morality consists in aspiring to traditional Buddhist virtues, especially loving, kindness and honesty. She is a living illustration of the truth that to be moral entails essentially wanting to be good, rather than bad.

From 1988 when she founded the National League for Democracy (being in Burma to look after her mother in her last illness), she was deeply committed to politics, going around the country addressing meetings and preparing for a general election, which in fact took place in 1990. In that election, there was an overwhelming victory for the NLD, over the military dictatorship Slorc (State Law and Order Restoration Council). Aung San Suu Kyi was, however, already under house arrest, and despite the landslide victory of her party, no attempt was made then or thereafter to hand over power to the victors. She was released in 1995; but her position remains precarious, and her communication with her family (English husband and two sons) is confined to a telephone call once a week.

Suu denies that she is courageous. And her conspicuous virtues are indeed other than courage. For her life is based on the principle that one must strive to become better; and that there is no real damage one can suffer except the damage of behaving badly. In her case, behaving badly would include, among other things, having recourse to violence.

On account of the Buddhist emphasis on self-improvement, there is what may seem, both to protestants and existentialists, remarkably little here about choice, the concept central to Western moral philosophy. This is the more remarkable in that, for most people, the choice to remain in Burma after her mother's death, and take on the role of democratic leader, thus leaving her husband and sons indefinitely, may seem like a central, agonising existentialist moment in Suu's life.

Many people, I for one, would have persuaded myself that my duty lay with my husband and children, even that I could do more good by mobilising public opinion from outside Burma than as a virtual prisoner, cut off from all possibility of communication inside. But for Suu, this would have been bad faith; deeply, she would not have believed it. And to act against her beliefs, to be other than sincere, is something that, reading this book, one has to realise is impossible for her. Her commitment to democracy (and truthfulness in political dealings) is by far her most important passion.

These conversations are, inevitably, somewhat unstructured and repetitious. Alan Clements, himself a Buddhist, and a perceptive interlocutor, was never certain when he would be thrown out of the country, so each conversation had to be conducted as possibly the last. But the effect is perhaps all the greater for being cumulative.

Superficially, it is hard to feel much hope for the immediate future of Burma. But Aung San Suu Kyi is inevitably hopeful, because of her conviction that in the end the good, and especially the truthful, will prevail. But she believes that for truthfulness, as for all other virtues, one has to work. Nothing will happen for those who simply sit and wait. This is the testimony, then, of an active politician and a passionate moralist. Whatever the future of Burma, a possible future for politics itself is illuminated by these conversations.

# Prosecuting monsters

**Jessica Smerin**

Radical Evil on Trial
by Carlos Santiago Niño
Yale University Press 224pp £20

*NONE* of the human rights trials currently in progress — Bosnia, Rwanda, Ethiopia, Nazi legacies — is a model of justice. Last month, after nearly half a year of deliberation, the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia found Dusko Tadic guilty of crimes against humanity but acquitted him on all murder charges because of insufficient evidence. Earlier in the year, at the Old Bailey, the trial of Szymon Serafinowicz — alleged to be a Nazi war criminal — collapsed because he was too old.

The judges would do well to read Carlos Niño's account of the 1985 trials for human rights abuses of Argentina's former military dictators. Niño, an adviser to Argentine president Raul Alfonsin who set up the trials, has provided a record of his experience in prosecuting monsters.

Radical evil is how Niño describes human rights violations which are so massive that saying they are "wrong" is flippant and inappropriate. Niño believes that radical evil is not just a moral problem but also a legal one. Criminal law is designed to cope with ordinary murderers, not genocidal lunatics. Criminals generally come from the margins of society. But the commanders of the Argentine junta, like their Third Reich counterparts, were at the centre of power.

The junta passed laws legalising human rights abuses. It is extremely difficult to convict someone for a crime which was not a crime when it was committed. In addition it is hard to decide who to prosecute. The leaders of oppressive regimes do not get blood on their hands, and claim ignorance when charged. Meanwhile those who actually torture and murder say that they were only following orders.

Niño writes that the history of the criminal law being applied to massive human rights violations is one of pardons, silences and failures to prosecute. The Nuremberg trials of the Nazi leaders are a (reasonably) positive entry in this negative record.

The Argentine situation was complicated by the fact that the military dictatorship was not toppled by a war. Before a democratic government took over, the junta passed a law granting themselves an amnesty for all the "subversive and counter-subversive acts" which they had committed — a euphemism for deaths and disappearances. They counted on victory for the Peronist party, which they believed would respect the amnesty. However, the vote swung in favour of the Radical party, which campaigned on a platform of trials for the junta. The Radicals, advised by Niño, nullified the junta's self-amnesty law. The junta commanders were given long prison sentences.

But in the next elections Alfonsin was defeated by Carlos Menem, a Peronist. Menem's first act as president was to grant a pardon to all those who had been convicted of human rights abuses.

Despite this ghoulish merry-go-round, Niño maintains an absolute faith in the inherent justice of the democratic system. He argues that massive violations of human rights are only possible outside a democratic system. In saying so he neglects to remind the reader that Hitler originally had a democratic mandate.

# A fantasia of earthly delights

**Nicholas Lezard**

River Cafe Cookbook Two
by Rose Gray and Ruth Rogers
Ebury Press 352pp £25

*THEY* do a roaring trade in both this book and its predecessor at the River Cafe in London: waiters carry them to tables as often as the food they deliver, an almost organic circularity of consumption: you eat the food, then buy a book that tells you how to make it yourself.

But will you? Are you really going to make wood-roasted suckling pig? Bearing in mind that the pig you order should have had "a cereal feed supplement for at least two weeks"? Are you, when making seared wild salmon, going to "pinbone your two fillets with tweezers"? And how many of you will cry off cooking wood-roasted lobster: "Place the live lobsters face down on a board. Use a large sharp pointed knife to split them down the centre." As Nietzsche said in his review of the first River Cafe Cookbook: "There is no feast without cruelty, as man's entire history attests."

Just my little joke. But you should cook these dishes: they are good, not too hard to follow and presented with an almost puritanical economy. Textually that is. The pictures themselves are almost pornographically alluring: alerting us to possibilities of sensual pleasure unlikely to be fulfilled at home. But perhaps that is harsh — the Manoir Quat' Saisons Cookbook, that was porn, and those who gave it to their partners more often than not awakened feelings of inadequacy hardly different from those of the ageing lover presented with inappropriate lingerie.

"Rose Gray and Ruth Rogers have changed the way we eat" is the assertion on the back of the book: an authentic quotation from the Times, so it must be true. Great Western Railways' Sandwich of the Month involves Mediterranean vegetables and ciabatta, so something is happening. If nothing else, Gray and Rogers have changed the way we use the word "drizzle", no longer a depressing noun but an exciting transitive verb used with olive oil.

Ultimately, though, this is unlikely to end up as a working, stained, recipe book. Its practicality is, frankly, contingent on circumstances. Many of the ingredients — travise, fresh procini, wild fennel and white truffles — ensure a hard schlep around the markets. But cookery books are as much thesauri of fantasy and wishful thinking as useful objects.

**Rugby Union** First Test: Argentina 20 England 46

# England put Catt among the Pumas

**Hugh Godwin in Buenos Aires**

MIKE CATT signed off the tour at the Ferro Carril Oeste stadium by laying the ghost of his ineffectual display against Argentina at Twickenham in December, playing a major part in a cohesive and exciting performance by a hastily assembled England team.

Not everything went smoothly, however, as England wobbled in a couple of early scrums and then lost the Gloucester hooker Phil Greening with concussion after a head-first tackle on the Pumas' flanker Pablo Camerlinckx. Richard Cockerill took over, and Sale's Steve Diamond is to fly out as cover for the Leicester player.

Catt's initial problems with his drop-outs played into the hands of Argentina's noted scrummagers and hinted at a long afternoon in store. But the Bath fly-half's act came together to great effect with a 21-point tally, and the pack also rapidly got to grips.

The Pumas, too, lost their hooker in the first half, and the sight of Catt's Bath team-mate Federico Mendez going off with a dislocated right shoulder was a bitter blow to their morale. The powerful 24-year-old, an international for seven years, will miss the second Test and is unlikely to be on the flight to New Zealand on Sunday for Argentina's two-Test tour.

It seems inconceivable that England will fail to complete their first Test double in Argentina after a draw and a win in 1981 and a drawn series in 1990 under Will Carling. Even without Catt, they have more than capable, though uncapped, deputies in Wasps' Alex King and Gloucester's Mark Mapletoft. Whoever gets the nod, either man would be delighted to play with Catt's self-assurance and vision, although the England forwards, six making their full international debuts, gave him a solid stage on which to strut his stuff. The full-time training of England's professionals is giving them a clear edge on tour.

The back row of Martin Corry, Ben Clarke and Tony Diprose appeared at the outset to be too closely matched to perform effectively, but such was the adroitness of their handling, allied to the brute force of their forays in the loose, that they all but obliterated Camerlinckx, Rolando Martin and Pablo Bouza.

Argentina, however, showed again that they have tempered a love of the tight exchanges with an appreciation of the wider game which suits their gifted runners. They scored three tries, prompting England's captain Phil de Glanville to admit that there is defensive work still to do.

● The Lions beat South Africa's Western Province 38-21 in Cape Town. Tim Stimpson, the England fullback, with four penalty goals and three conversions, showed he is well on the way to making the grade as an international goalkicker.



Catt goes over for England in the defeat of Argentina, in which he scored 21 points PHOTO: STU FORSTER

**Golf**

# Woosnam reigns in downpour

**Guardian Reporter**

IAN WOOSNAM won his second title in a week last Sunday when he defeated Sandy Lyle on the second hole of a sudden-death play-off in Seoul. The Welshman took the $90,000 first prize at the Hyundai Motor Masters, only six days after his victory in the British PGA Championship at Wentworth.

Woosnam holed a 15-foot birdie putt on the second extra hole after he and Lyle had finished the regulation 72 holes in 280, eight under par. Woosnam shot a final round of 68 to Lyle's 69.

For the second time in the tournament heavy rain and lightning caused play to be suspended after the leaders had completed six holes, with Lyle leading by one. The overnight leader Choi Kyoung-ju of South Korea had begun with a bogey and a double bogey to lose his lead and he finished joint fourth with Yasuharu Imano of Japan, one stroke behind the third-placed Chung Jun of South Korea and five behind the leaders.

"I'm very pleased to win this event," Woosnam said after denying Lyle his first victory since the 1992 Volvo Masters. "It's been very hard work trying to cope with the conditions but fortunately it all came right in the end."

*Michael Britten writes from Hamburg:* Ross McFarlane ended a 15-year wait for his first European Tour victory on Sunday by capturing the Deutsche Bank Open in an eventful final round at the Gut Kaden club.

The 36-year-old Mancunian beat off the challenges of Gordon Brand jnr and Anders Forsbrand with a gritty 71 in high winds to take the $200,000 top prize by one stroke with a six-under-par total of 282. The consistent Darren Clarke was fourth on 284.

McFarlane, whose father Noel played for Matt Busby at Manchester United, now also rejoices in the title of European Tour Players' Champion and has become yet another surprise contender for a place in this year's Ryder Cup team, [illegible] to 17th in the money list.

He kept his nerve while, all around, others were losing theirs in a howling cross-wind that took a severe toll of any mishit. And he dealt superbly with slick, crusty greens that became more unpredictable by the minute.

Brand, his playing partner, looked a more likely winner when he turned in 35 after birdie fours at the 3rd and 5th. He started back with two par fours, both directly into the gale, and after McFarlane had hit his second shot into a ditch for a six at the 10th the Ryder Cup player held a two-stroke lead.

But he missed a par putt of four feet at the 13th, then failed to hit the green at the short 14th, and McFarlane sank successive putts of 10, 15 and 25 feet for a trio of birdies.

"I always knew I was good enough to win," he said, "even though I almost gave up the game because of tendinitis in my left arm when I lost my Tour card in 1992."

"I am excited about the five-year exemption this title gives me. It means I will be playing tournament golf into the millennium."

**Sports Diary** Shiv Sharma

# Surrey find the going easy

SURREY cruised into the semi-finals of the Benson & Hedges Cup with a six-wicket victory over Essex at Chelmsford last week. Martin Bicknell and Chris Lewis picked up three wickets each as the home side were bowled out for 214, with Nasser Hussain making 52. Then Alistair Brown hit 71 off 78 balls and Graham Thorpe a classy 73 before Mark Butcher (41 not out) clinched victory with 7.3 overs to spare.

Their opponents in the semi-final will be Leicestershire, who overcame a disastrous start at Grace Road to beat Somerset, thanks to pace duo David Millns and Alan Mullally. Somerset were set a target of only 198 when the home side folded in just 46.2 overs. But man-of-the-match Millns and Mullally ripped through the Somerset top order, taking the first five wickets for only 57 runs. Leicestershire eventually won by 20 runs.

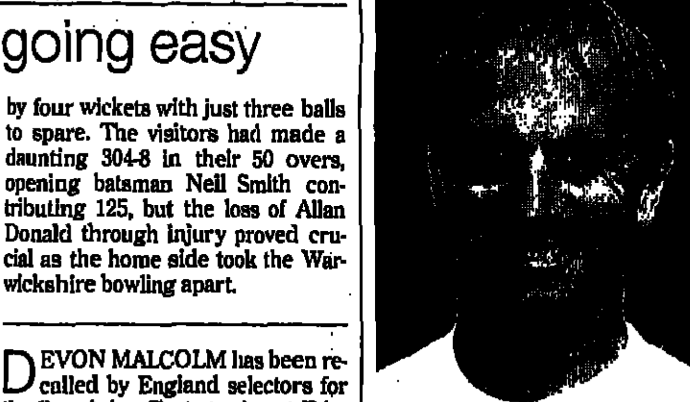
Northamptonshire all-rounder David Capel produced a stunning performance to lead his side into the last four with a convincing seven-wicket win over Yorkshire at Headingley. Capel claimed career-best bowling figures of 5-51 before crashing a quickfire 67 off just 53 deliveries. Yorkshire made 253 for 9 in their 50 overs, thanks to 85 from Michael Vaughan and Bradley Parker (58) but Rob Bailey's 70no and Capel saw Northamptonshire home with four overs to spare.

In the other semi-final they will meet Kent who scored a last-gasp victory over Warwickshire at Canterbury. Matthew Walker was the home side's hero. He hit 117 as Kent, with the help of a quickfire 39no from Graham Cowdrey, won by four wickets with just three balls to spare. The visitors had made a daunting 304-8 in their 50 overs, opening batsman Neil Smith contributing 125, but the loss of Allan Donald through injury proved crucial as the home side took the Warwickshire bowling apart.

DEVON MALCOLM has been recalled by England selectors for the first Ashes Test starting at Edgbaston [illegible]. The Derbyshire pace bowler's last appearance for England was against South Africa in Cape Town last year. Uncapped Surrey stars Adam Hollioake and Mark Butcher have also been called up. Nick Knight has been dropped. The full squad is: Atherton, Butcher, Hussain, Thorpe, Crawley, Stewart, Hollioake, Ealham, Croft, Gough, Caddick, Malcolm and Tufnell.

MICHAEL DOOHAN, the three-times world motorcycling champion, recorded the 38th victory of his career when he won the Austrian Grand Prix at Zeltweg last Sunday. He now lies second in the all-time list of 500cc winners behind the Italian Giacomo Agostini, with 68 victories.

ROWER Steve Redgrave added another medal to his already bulging collection as he led Britain's coxless four to World Cup triumph in Munich last Sunday. Although the four-times Olympic gold winner, and his team of Matthew Pinset, Tim Foster and James Cracknell, had trained together for less than a month, they led from start to finish, coming home comfortably, in gusty conditions.



Redgrave . . . ruling the waves

SCOTLAND'S World Cup campaign received a boost when they beat Malta 3-2 in a friendly international on the Mediterranean island last Sunday.

In a see-saw match, Scotland, who play their next World Cup tie in Belarus, went ahead with a Christian Dailly strike in the fourth minute and looked set for a hatful of goals, but Hubert Suda's shot trickled in for the equaliser. And although Darren Jackson restored the lead from close range, Stefan Sultana levelled once again. Jackson struck again nine minutes from time to clinch victory.

Earlier, Scotland went down to Wales 1-0 in a friendly international at Kilmarnock. John Hartson put Wales ahead in the 46th minute, his first international goal on his 10th appearance. Scotland came close to levelling the score in the 59th minute but Billy Dodds's close-range shot was blocked.

ARSENAL and England striker Ian Wright is having therapy to control the temper which has brought him a succession of bookings and dismissals throughout his 12-year football career. "Yes, I see a counsellor," he admitted. "People have sorted me out in dealing with the anger."

During the season just ended, Wright was involved in incidents with Manchester United goalkeeper Peter Schmeichel, but it was his dismissal for kicking out at Nottingham Forest's Nikola Jerkan that convinced him that he needed help.

In another development, Mohamed Al Fayed, owner of Harrods [illegible] bought Fulham for around $16 million. Britain's 14th richest person also promised to inject between $50 million and $160 million to turn the club into one of the footballing powers in the land within five years.

THE OPENING rounds of the French Open saw seeds scattered in all directions. Britain's Tim Henman and the big-hitting Croat Goran Ivanisevic fell at the first hurdle. Next to go was Carlos Moya of Spain. Pete Sampras, Thomas Muster, Richard Krajicek, Marc Rosset, the highly rated Alex Corretja, Conchita Martinez and Mary Pierce were some other well-known tennis stars who saw their dreams turn to dust in the Roland Garros clay.

MIKE TYSON will receive the same massive purse of $30 million as his conqueror Evander Holyfield for their World Boxing Association heavyweight rematch in Las Vegas on June 28. Tyson had pulled out of the original fight date, scheduled for early last month, claiming he was cut in training.



**Football** European Cup Dortmund 3 Juventus 1

Riedle holds up his cup of joy PHOTOGRAPH: BEN RADFORD

# Juve at cross purposes to leave Dortmund champions

**Richard Williams in Munich**

AS OTHER giants of European club football have already discovered this decade, the time to worry is when people start calling your team unbeatable. Not long ago Juventus were described by a defeated opponent, Frank de Boer of Ajax, as "a team from another planet". But in front of almost 70,000 people in Munich's Olympia stadion on Wednesday last week the gilded players of Juventus, already weighed down with this season's honours, looked earthbound as they relinquished the European Cup to an unheralded Borussia Dortmund side.

The first German team to win the continent's most important club trophy since Hamburg beat the same opponents in 1983, Dortmund scored two first-half goals through Karlheinz Riedle. When Juventus responded with a goal by their substitute forward Alessandro Del Piero after 64 minutes, the Germans threw on the 20-year-old Lars Ricken who polished off the Italian threat by finding the net with his first touch of the ball, barely 15 seconds after taking the field.

Juventus had arrived here without a thought of surrendering the trophy which they won from Ajax a year ago, but it was Dortmund who struck the wounding blows of the first half.

After 29 minutes, Möller's left-wing corner was flicked away by Angelo Peruzzi to Jugovic, whose unconvincing clearance went no further than Paul Lambert, lurking on the right wing. The former Motherwell man's instant return was met at the far post by Riedle, who controlled the ball with his chest before smashing it past Peruzzi.

Four minutes later, the lead had been doubled. The Uruguayan hard man Paolo Montero seemed happy to concede another corner on the left while intercepting Stéphane Chapuisat's cross, but Möller's flag-kick went straight to the head of Riedle, who headed firmly home from 10 yards.

Juventus's efforts to regain ground in the five minutes before half-time saw Alen Boksic hitting a post after turning in a thicket of defenders, but the arrival of Del Piero at the start of the second half was no surprise. To accommodate the extra forward Marcello Lippi, the Italian coach, removed Sergio Porrini, moved his remaining defenders across one place to the right and redeployed Di Livio on the left side of the defence. He was rewarded after 64 minutes when Boksic's strength took him past Kohler on the left and he put in a low cross which Del Piero guided home with a deft touch.

Ottmar Hitzfeld, Dortmund's coach, replaced Riedle with Heiko Herrlich after 67 minutes, but it was a second German substitution, three minutes later, that settled Juventus's fate. Ricken, on for Chapuisat, immediately found himself racing down the right to meet Möller's pass and beat Peruzzi with a wonderfully cool lob. The author of goals against Steaua Bucharest, Auxerre and Manchester United in earlier rounds, this time he had sealed the season's most dramatic upset.

World Cup qualifier Group Two: Poland 0 England 2

# England at the double

**David Lacey in Chorzow**

ENGLAND beat Poland for the first time in 31 years. Before their 2-0 victory here last Saturday a patronising chuckle tended to greet the dogged insistence of their coach Glenn Hoddle that defeating the Italians on their own territory, despite losing 1-0 to them at Wembley, was a realistic ambition. How naïve could a man be?

The prospect of an English victory in the Stadio Olimpico this autumn is still remote. But after what happened in the Slaski Stadium, and the earlier World Cup victories in Moldova and Georgia, at least the proposition can now be discussed with a straight face.

It is not simply that an increasingly dispirited Poland team were beaten by goals from Alan Shearer and, in stoppage time, Teddy Sheringham, with much admirable defending by Hoddle's players in between. If an inexperienced England side can remind Poles, of all people, of the importance of solidarity, then who is to say Hoddle's players cannot bring home to Italy the lesson Borussia Dortmund taught Juventus in the European Cup final, namely that nothing is ever certain.

England's confidence is as high as it was after Holland were routed 4-1 in the 1996 European Championship. In World Cup terms it is based on something more substantial, because Hoddle's victories have been achieved in more demanding circumstances. Even Terry Venables might have balked at being asked to win in Silesia after losing Paul Gascoigne on the quarter-hour and seeing Shearer miss a penalty on the stroke of half-time.

The debate about Gascoigne's presence in the team was adjourned once this wretchedly unlucky footballer had been helped from the field after suffering a badly gashed thigh in a tackle with Krzysztof Bukalski. Shearer's penalty, awarded when the England captain was pulled down by Adam Ledwon, struck the foot of a post. Again the matter was not discussed.

Shearer's contribution to England's World Cup hopes is immense and not merely because of his goals. "Defending when we've been on the attack has been a major problem in our football for years," said Hoddle. Shearer brings that quality to England.

The way England defended at the back in Chorzow, with Gareth Southgate, Sol Campbell and Gary Neville showing judgment and discipline which minimised the loss of Tony Adams's experience, was a satisfying aspect of their victory. Poland were rarely allowed the space they had been given at Wembley last year.

What was equally rewarding for Hoddle, his team and the England supporters was that the opening goal stemmed from practice at catching the opposition on the break. "We'd given them an exercise in training where they had to get the ball into the back of the net within 10 seconds of winning it," Hoddle explained. "I think the seed's been planted."

Not only planted but producing an early bloom. After five minutes the ball broke to Robert Lee from a Polish corner. He quickly found Paul Ince, whose pass to Shearer, haring through a large gap on the right, recalled the ball Andy Möller played to Lars Ricken for Dortmund's third goal against Juventus.

Shearer's finish might have been less spectacular but the finality of the shot he tucked into the far corner of the net cast a depression over Poland which deepened to despair once Piotr Nowak, their captain and thought-processor, had been carried off on the hour.

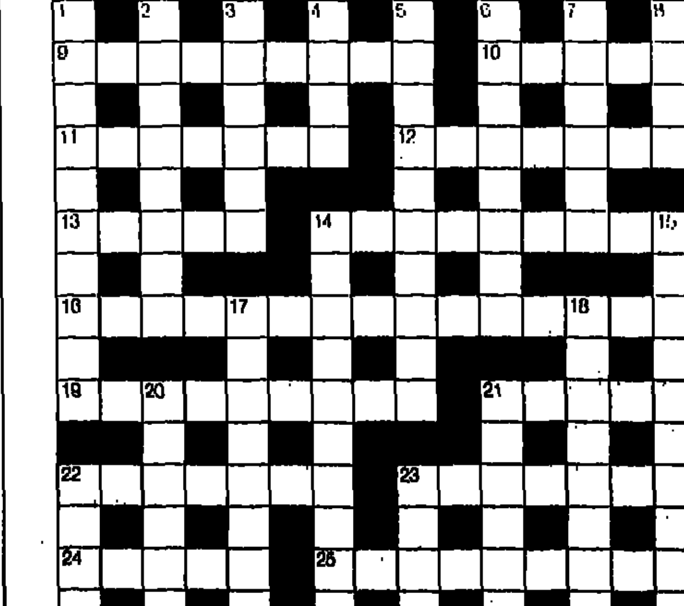
England's second goal was a casual afterthought. Sheringham's pass caught Poland pushing up too late, Lee was clear and onside and after the Newcastle man had rounded the goalkeeper he unselfishly offered Sheringham the chance to finish what he had begun.

The win has left England a point behind Italy. If Hoddle's team beat Moldova at Wembley on September 10 and the Italians slip up in Georgia the same evening then England will go to Rome as Group Two leaders.

An important side-effect of winning in Poland is that England are now even better placed to qualify automatically as the best of the European runners-up, but Hoddle has no thought of finishing second to anyone just now. "We've always said we can win this group," he insisted, "and as long as we're professional against Moldova it looks as if it's going to be a titanic battle in Rome."

Certainly last Saturday such confidence looked highly contagious.

## Cryptic crossword by Gordius



**Across**

9 Plot to convert oil and turn into perfume (9)
10 A politician — common feature of Hampstead (5)
11 A stone of fish (7)
12 Pupil from eastern nation? (7)
13 Lear unfortunately began his madness by letting it go (5)
14 Hope's fictional 13 (9)
16 Horse doctor's role in case of serious illness? (8,7)
19 Cook omitting nothing in feast near Yeovil (4,5)
21 Enthusiasm got us into trouble (5)
22 Former PM gains weight (7)
23 The last sort of behaviour expected from a rogue (7)
24 The sovereign has the edge (5)
25 Age when desire to flog grips head prefect (4,5)

**Down**

1 Greengrocer's superfluous figure (10)
2 Set battles in Hollywood? (4,4)
3 The misconstruction of belief (6)
4 Early Christian who was neither hot nor cold? (4)
5 Blow that caused waters to collect in a heap? (4-6)
6 Current control requires short ton break (8)
7 Hood's moll (6)
8 Joint found in washing machine (4)
14 Overturned royal by way of cheating at cards (10)
15 England supporter offers misplaced help in goal (10)
17 Poor act — one performance received in silence (8)
18 Unlisted building — and how it feels? (8)
20 Kent river over the hill (6)
21 Lubrication the king took with no difficulty (6)
22 Sergeant Major has a way of verbal communication (4)
23 Wrong start to kitchen? (4)

**Last week's solution**

© Guardian Publications Ltd., 1997. Published by Guardian Publications Ltd., 164 Deansgate, Manchester, M60 2RR, and printed by WCP Commercial Printing, Leek.
Second class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and mailing offices. Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office.